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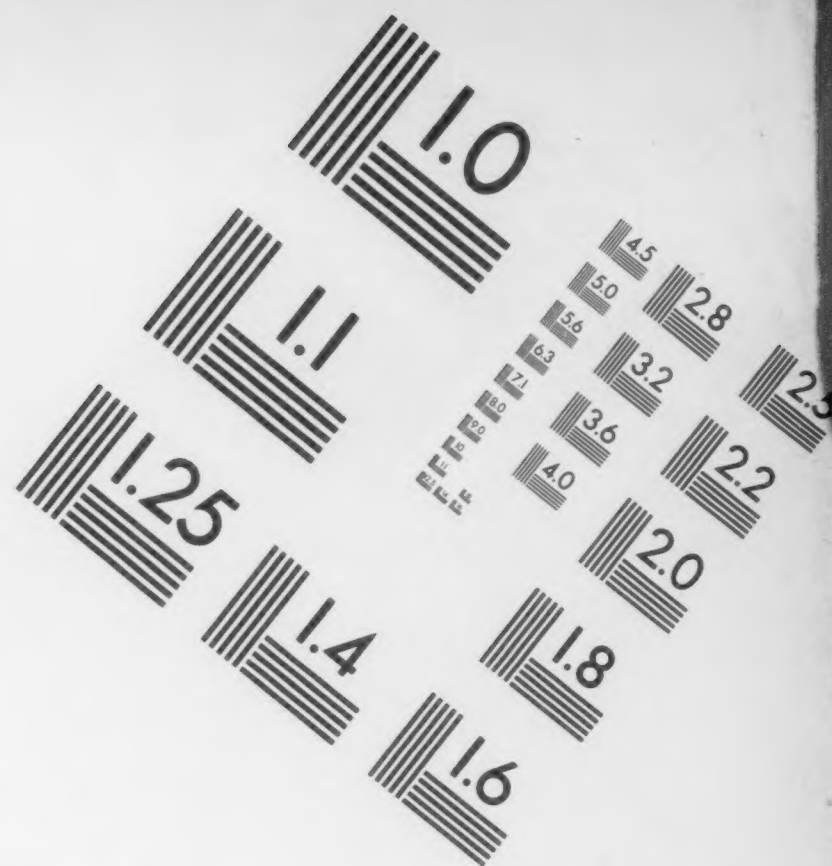
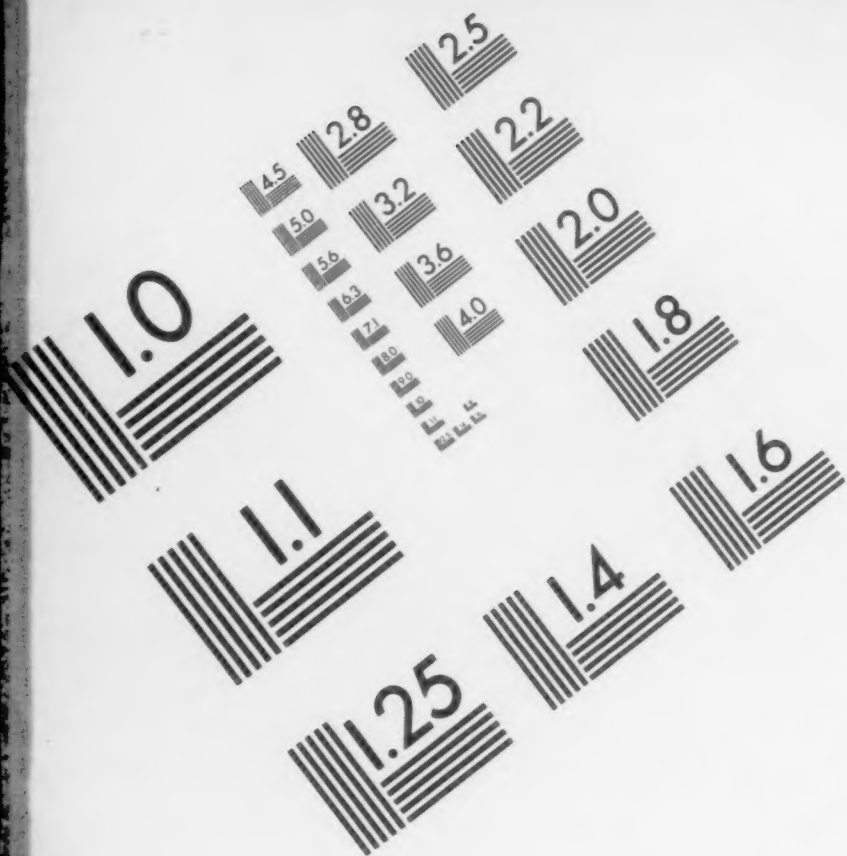


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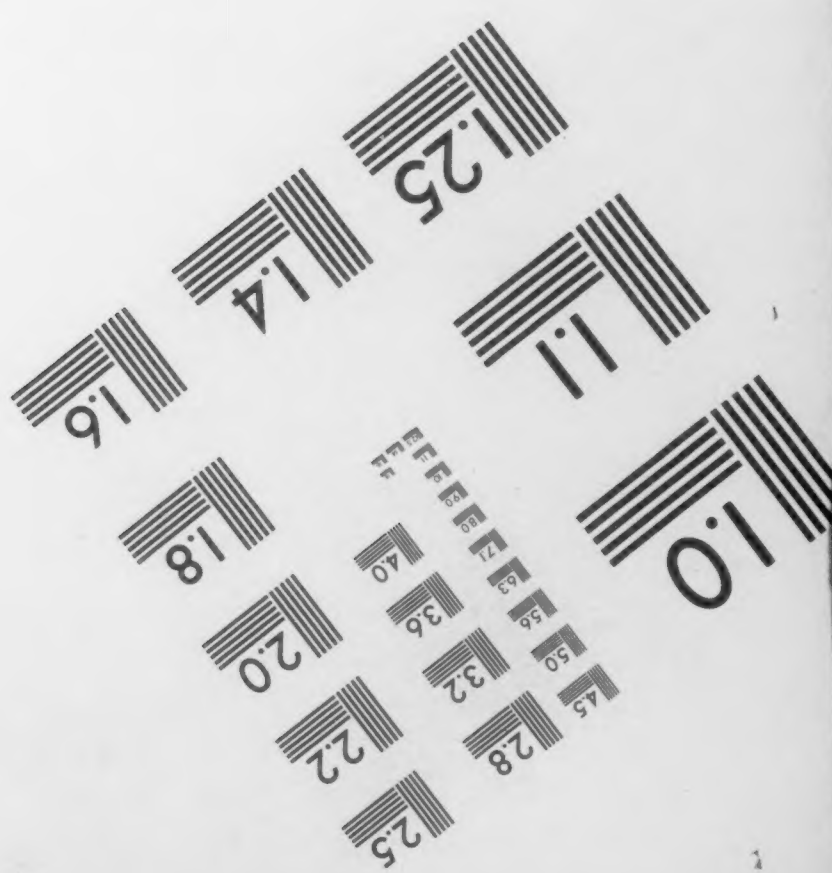
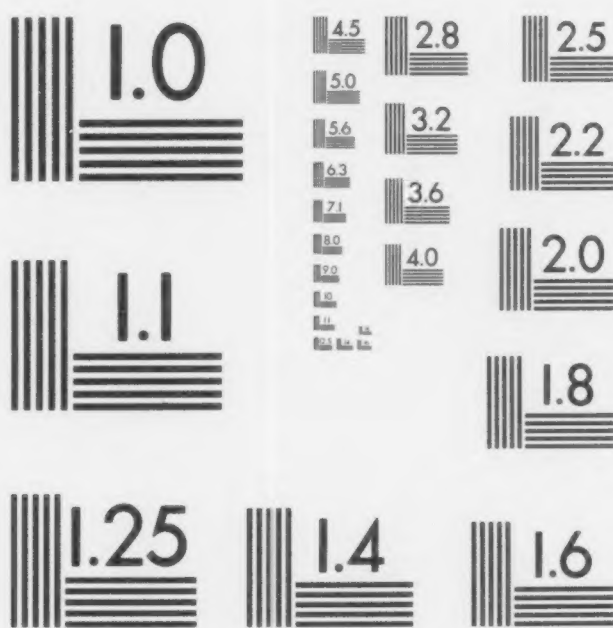
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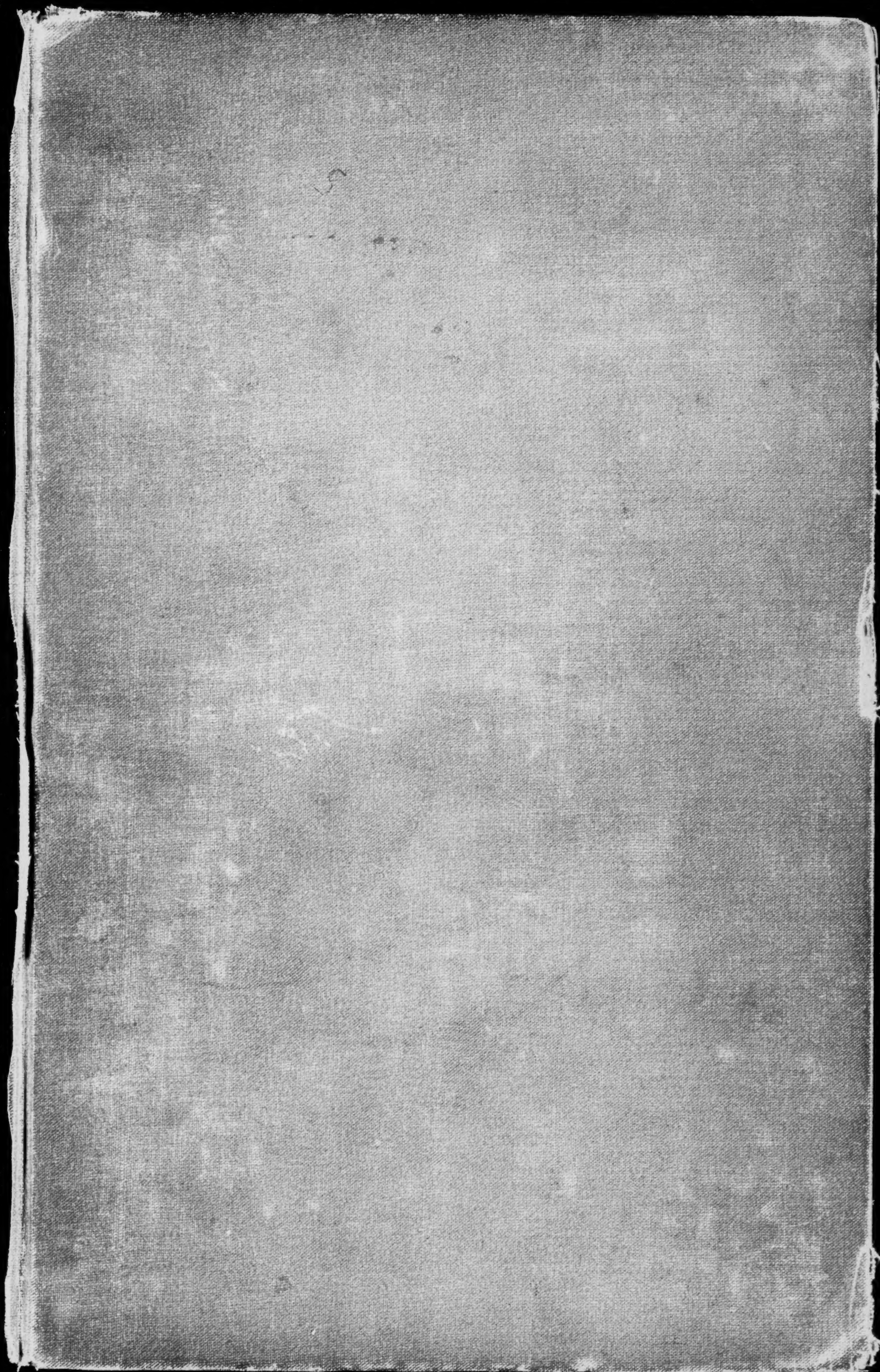
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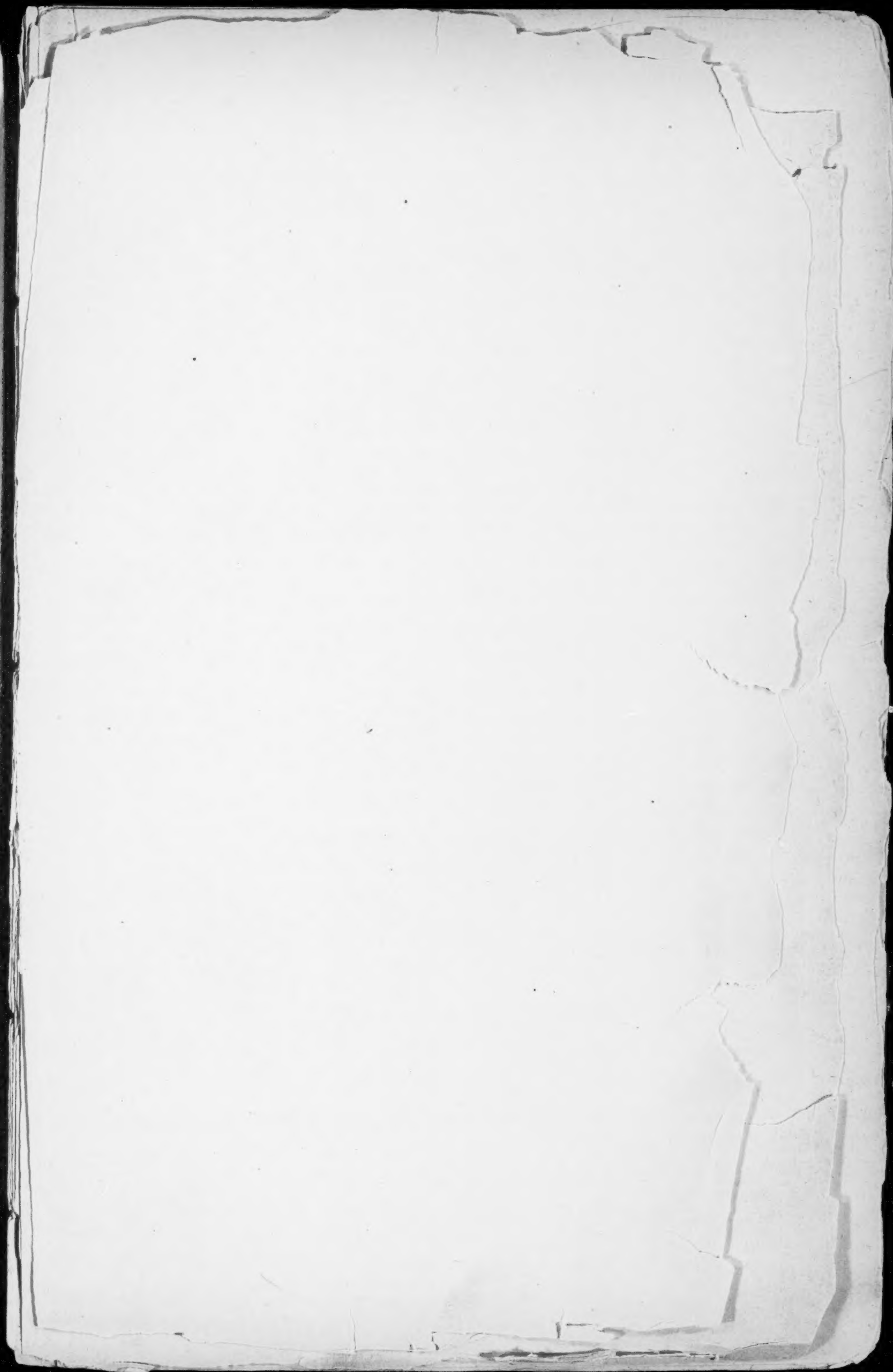
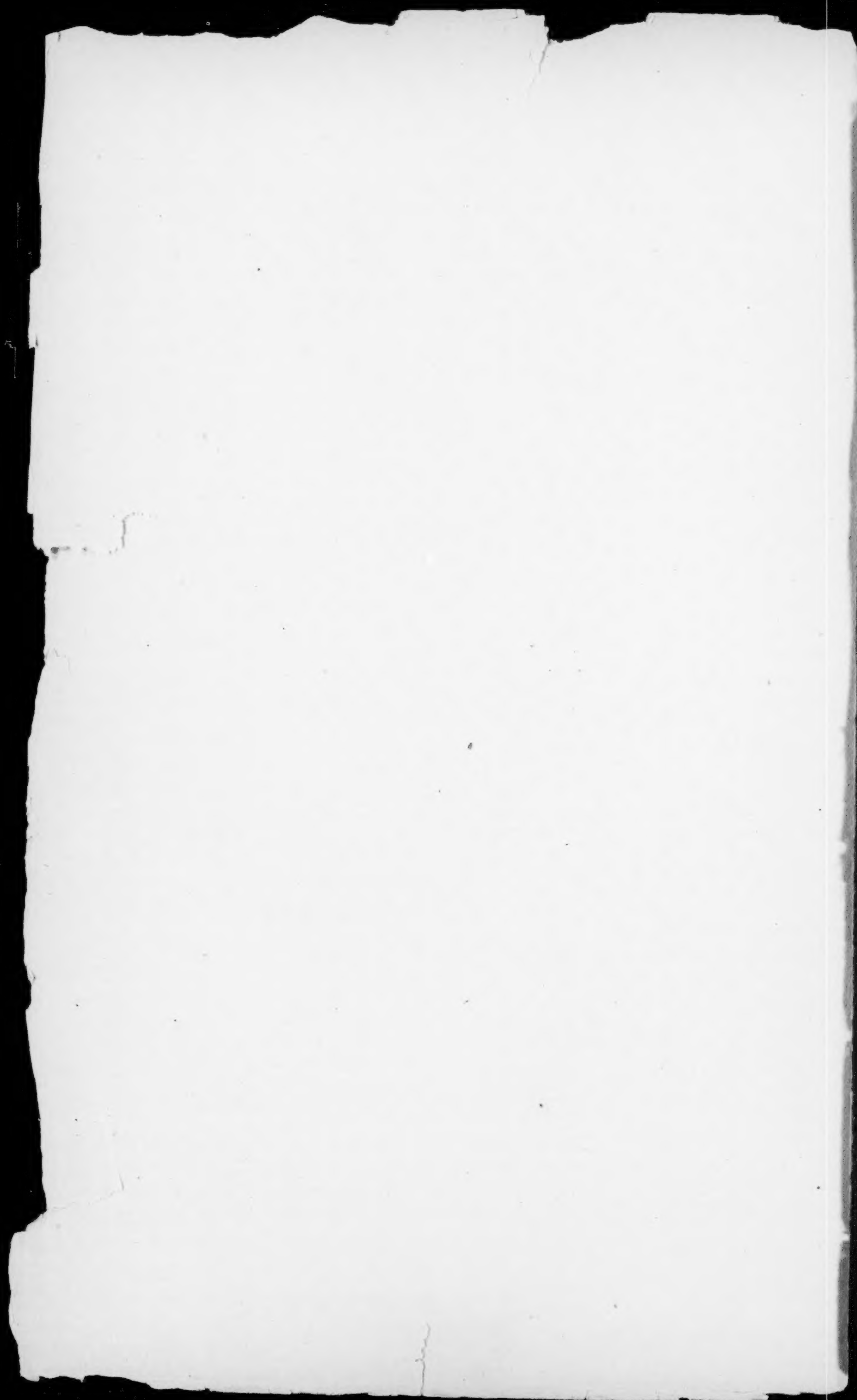
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THE

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STAGE IN THE GREEK THEATRE

ACCORDING TO THE

EXTANT DRAMAS

Inaugural Dissertation

PRESENTED TO THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF YALE UNIVERSITY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

EDWARD CAPPS

NEW HAVEN, JUNE, 1891

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217

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction	5-7
I. Evidence against an Elevated Stage	7
A. Inter-action between Actors and Chorus	7-53
1. Passing from palace to orchestra	8
2. Passing from orchestra to palace	10
3. Chorus and actors depart together	12
4. Chorus and actors enter together	20
5. Chariot scenes	27
6. Assembly scenes	29
7. Search scenes	32
8. Altar scenes	35
9. Chorus called to the palace, and minor instances — a refutation of A. Müller's argument, based on the non-performance of certain proposed movements of the chorus, that the action was prevented by the difficulty of mounting the "stage"	37
10. Encounters between actors and chorus	47
Results of Preceding Arguments	50
Table of the Instances of Inter-action between Actors and Chorus	53
B. General Relation of Chorus to Actors	54
C. Numbers often brought upon the "Stage"	57
D. Character of the Scenic Setting in Certain Plays	59
E. Street Scenes in Aristophanes	60
II. Consideration of the Evidence adduced in Favor of an Elevated Stage	64-77
1. Indications of a change of level when there is passing between stage and orchestra; <i>áva-</i> and <i>kara-βαλνειν</i>	64
2. Expressions which are explained by the supposition of a difference of level between "stage" and orchestra	69
3. Scenes whose presentation required an elevation; use of roof of proscenium	71
Conclusion	78

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It has long been an accepted principle¹ in the study of scenic antiquities that the evidence derived from the extant plays outweighs in value that from all our other sources—the existing theatre ruins, Vitruvius, Pollux, and the scholiasts. An equally important principle, however, has not been distinctly recognized, viz., that the plays themselves must be the ultimate test of all theories based on evidence drawn from external sources. Even the results obtained from the existing ruins must be made to conform to the requirements of the plays,² in view of the many elements of uncertainty introduced by the alteration and decay of the ancient structures. But if ruins are found whose condition warrants definite conclusions, the testimony of the theatre and the requirements of the drama should be in perfect harmony.

¹ First definitely laid down by Gottfried Hermann in his recension of Otfried Müller's *Eumenides*. Albert Müller, *Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 107, subscribes to the same principle but fails to follow it consistently. See the same author in *Phil. Anzeiger*, xv, p. 525; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Hermes*, xxi, p. 603; and Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, p. 144.

² Dörpfeld himself, who bases his new theories entirely on archaeological and architectural grounds, recognizes the plays as our best source of information. See his recension of Haigh's *Attic Theatre*, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1890, 468.

If this harmony exists, we shall be justified in rejecting any contradicting testimony of Vitruvius, Pollux, or the scholiasts, especially since these writers have often been found in error.¹

The traditional belief that the Greek theatre had a stage of from ten to twelve feet in height² reserved almost exclusively for actors, as the orchestra was for the chorus,³ and connected with the orchestra by a flight of steps,⁴ students of the drama have long felt to be unsatisfactory for an easy and natural interpretation of the extant plays. Three important attempts have been made to relieve the difficulty caused by so great an elevation. That of Gottfried Hermann, who held that a platform for the chorus was erected in the orchestra to within a few feet of the stage level, has been most widely received, but has been shown to rest on no sound evidence either literary or archaeological.⁵ Julius Höpken in 1884, following the suggestion of the plays, and finding support in the ancient authorities, announced the novel theory that both actors and chorus moved on the same level in the orchestra, in which was built a temporary platform on the level of the proscenium, while the proscenium, miscalled the stage, was used for the support of the stage machinery.⁶ Most recently Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, the eminent architect and archaeologist, after study of the best preserved ruins, has reached the

¹ Scholars have often been too ready to attribute error to Vitruvius. He claims (*De Arch.* v, 6, 7) to treat only of types of theatres. This is shown to be true by Oehmichen, *Griechischer Theaterbau*, p. 91 ff.; cf. A. Müller, *Bühnenalt.*, p. 21. Vitruvius, moreover, nowhere says that he is speaking of the Greek theatre of classical times. Kirchhoff, *Vergleichung der Ueberreste vom Theater zu Athen*, p. 7, has vindicated his accuracy in details. For a general estimate of his work, see Geppert, *Die altgr. Bühne*, p. 85 ff. Pollux is full of errors; see Hermann, *Op.* vi, 2, p. 133. On the scholiasts, see A. Müller, *Phil. Anz.* xv, p. 525.

² Vitruv. 5, 7, 2. ³ Pollux, *Onom.* 4, 123. ⁴ Poll. 4, 137 and scholiasts.

⁵ *Opusc.* vi, 2, p. 153, defended by A. Müller, *Bühnenalt.*, p. 129, and by Wieseler, *Ueber die Thymele*, who endeavors to prove that this platform was known as the "thymele." For opposing arguments, see Kawerau in *Baumeister's Denkmäler*, s.v. *Theatergebäude*; Haigh, *Attic Theat.*, p. 154; Dörpfeld's recension of the same, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1890, 467; and especially Harzmann, *Questiones Scaenicae*, pp. 15-27.

⁶ *De theatro Attico*, Bonn, 1884, reviewed and severely criticised by A. Müller, *Phil. Anz.* xv, p. 525 ff., and opposed by Niejahr, *De Pollucis loco qui ad rem scaenicam spectat*. This theory met with much opposition, largely be-

conclusion that the theatre had no raised stage in classical times, but that the building usually supposed to be a stage, the proscenium, in reality represented the house before which the action of the piece was supposed to take place. Dörpfeld makes almost the same disposition of the actors as Höpken but offers a different explanation of the purpose of the proscenium. In accordance with the two principles of scenic investigation above laid down, it is my purpose to test this last theory of the stage in the light of the extant Greek dramas in order to ascertain first, what testimony these dramas furnish against an elevated stage, and second, how far they contain evidence in favor of it.

I. EVIDENCE AGAINST AN ELEVATED STAGE.

The arguments to be presented in the first part of this paper will be drawn from five distinct features that have been observed in the extant plays: A, the inter-action or commingling of actors and chorus; B, the general relation of the chorus to the drama and to the actors; C, the numbers brought upon the stage; D, the character of the scenic setting in certain plays; and E, certain street scenes in Aristophanes.

A. *Inter-action between Actors and Chorus.*

Obviously the most serious objection to the Vitruvian stage is that it renders intimate connection between actors and chorus extremely awkward and difficult. That there was such connection all scholars now agree, but it has been restricted as much as possible¹ on account of the difficulty which it was felt would be involved in the ascending to or descending from the stage. Assuming that the usual position of the chorus was in the orchestra, and that the commingling of actors and

cause it overthrew the traditional belief, and on account of the method employed in gaining support from the ancient authorities. It was first recognized as probably an attempt in the right direction in the *Am. Jour. Phil.* v, 253.

¹ A notable exception is that of Harzmann, *Quaest. Scaen.*, who gives a very large number of instances of inter-action, but still contends for an elevated stage.

chorus made it necessary for one or the other to pass over the dividing line between the so-called "stage" (which term I shall frequently employ to designate the usual position of the actors without reference to altitude) and the orchestra, let us see what a natural interpretation of the plays demands.

1. **From Palace to Orchestra.** In several plays the chorus make their entrance into the orchestra by passing over the usual station of actors, generally coming from the palace in the background,¹ as in Choephoroi 22:²

ἰαλτὸς ἐκ δόμων ἔβαν.

The chorus in the Eumenides rush out of the temple in pursuit of Orestes. They are probably still near the temple when Apollo drives them away, 178 ff.:

ἔξω, κελεύω, τῶνδε δωμάτων τάχος
χωρεῖτ'.

Similarly in the Troades the chorus come out from the tent of Hecabe, 176 (cf. 154 ff.):

οἶμοι, τρομερὰ σκηναὶς ἔλιπον.

We may suppose that they were in the orchestra for the first choral ode, 197 ff. In the Suppliants of Euripides the choreutae are first seen surrounding Aethra; see 8 ff. (cf. also 94):

εἰς τάσδε γὰρ βλέψας' ἐπηνυξάμην τάδε
γραῦς, αἱ λιποῦσαι δώματ' Ἀργείας χθονὸς
ἰκτῆρι θαλλῶ προσπίτνουσ' ἐμὸν γόνυ
πάθος παθοῦσαι δεινόν· κτέ.

The whole situation is described even more clearly in 100 ff. The first choral ode (42-86), therefore, must have been sung

¹ Werckmeister, Orchestra u. Bühne in der gr. Tragödie, p. 11, contends, but with insufficient evidence, that this is the case in all the tragedies of Aeschylus.

² References are to Dindorf's Aeschylus, Bergk's Sophocles, Nauck's Euripides, and Meineke's Aristophanes.

on the "stage." The chorus are still in the same position in 359:

ἀλλ' ὦ γεραῖαί, σέμν' ἀφαιρεῖτε στέφη
μητρός.

It is not until the choral passage beginning with 365 that we can suppose that they took their place in the orchestra.

The women who form the chorus in the Ecclesiazusae appear at first as actors, some of them at least¹ coming from the doors in the rear. The house of their leader, Praxagora, is the principal one in the scene. The connection between actors and chorus is very intimate up to 311, — a feature which we shall discuss later. In the Lysistrata, although we have no positive evidence that the chorus of women come out from the citadel in 319, yet the demands of the situation make it probable that they do so.² They come out as defenders of the citadel against the chorus of men. There is more doubt about the parodos of the chorus of Mystae in the Frogs. The words of the chorus (350 ff.) rather favor the view that they come from Pluto's palace:

σὺ δὲ λαμπάδι φέγγων
προβάδην ἔξαγ' ἐπ' ἀνθηρὸν ἔλειον δάπεδον
χοροποιὸν μάκαρ ἦβαν.

Schönborn (p. 356) gives excellent artistic reasons in support of the same interpretation of the passage. He seems to be right also (p. 306) in making the chorus in the Thesmophorizusae appear from the temple. From no other place could they so fittingly come, and the short choral song³ (312-331) suggests a short parodos over the "stage" rather than a long one through the orchestra. He is wrong, however,

¹ All of them, according to Schönborn, Skene der Hellenen, p. 329.

² So also Droysen, Quaest. de Arist. re scaen., p. 65; Schönborn, p. 299, following the scholiast, makes them enter the stage from the right. But v. 352, θύρασιν βοηθεῖ, favors the view presented above. For this use of θύρασιν, cf. Eur. Elec. 1074, θύρασιν φαίνειν πρόσωπον.

³ This short choral ode is characteristic of a parodos from the palace. Cf. Choeph. 22-83; Eum. 140-177; Troad. 153 ff.; Lys. 319-351. Contrast Sept. 77-180; Pers. 1-158; Supp. (Aesch.) 1-175; Agam. 40-263; Bacch. 64-169, etc.

in supposing that they remain on the "stage" during the assembly scene, as we shall show later (p. 29). The narrow stage would scarcely have admitted of such a scene in any case.¹

2. **From Orchestra to Palace.** In three plays the exodos of the chorus is made from the orchestra to the house which forms the background. In the Choephori,² since they come from the palace in the beginning of the piece, so they must go back into it at the close, although indications as to their movements are entirely wanting. The chorus in the Persians³ escort Xerxes into the royal palace. At the command *πρὸς δόμους ἴθι* (1038) the chorus begin to move slowly toward the palace. Finally comes the word to enter (1068), *ἐς δόμους κίε*, and as they disappear they say:

πέμψω τοί σε δυσθρόους γόους.

For this conclusion we are prepared by the request of Atossa, 529 ff.:

*καὶ παῖδ' ἐάν περ δεῦρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσθεν μόλη,
παρηγορεῖτε, καὶ προπέμπετε' ἐς δόμους.⁴*

In the Birds a messenger announces the coming of Pisthetaerus and his bride, and bids the chorus receive them into their new home in Nephelococcygia,⁵ 1708:

δέχεσθε τὸν τύραννον ὀλβίοις δόμοις.

¹ Similar to the instances above cited is Lys. 1239, discussed more fully elsewhere, where the chorus come from the palace. Dicaeopolis in Ach. 280 goes from his house into the orchestra, as is shown later (p. 73).

² Schönborn, p. 225, denies, without reason, that the palace was represented in the scenery, and thus avoids the crossing of the "stage" by the chorus. See Hermann's arguments on this point in *De re scaen.* in Aesch. Orestea, p. 9. Albert Müller, p. 125, note 7, favors the above.

³ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Die Bühne des Aeschylus*, Hermes, xxi, p. 607, contends that no conventional scenery was used in Supp., Sept., Pers., and Prom. of Aeschylus. His arguments are weaker for the Persians than for the other plays. Sommerbrodt, *Scaenica*, p. 147, cites v. 159 in favor of the usual scenery.

⁴ These verses are much better read after 850 with Wecklein.

⁵ We follow Schönborn (p. 322) in supposing a change of scene (but not necessarily a change of scenery) at 1565, as the words of Poseidon, *τὸ μὲν πόλισμα τῆς Νεφελοκοκκυγίας ὁρᾶν τοδὶ πάρεστιν*, seem to demand. Muhl, Sym-

They accordingly arrange their ranks and sing about the pair the hymenaeum, 1720 ff.:

*ἄναγε δίεχε πάραγε παρέχε
περιπέτεσθε μάκαρα μάκαρα σὺν τύχῃ, κτέ.*

At its conclusion they are invited by Pisthetaerus to follow in the bridal train, 1755 ff.:

*ἔπεσθε νῦν γάμοισιν ὦ
φύλα πάντα συννόμων
πτεροφόρ' ἐπὶ δάπεδον Διὸς
καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον.*

With these last instances may be classed those in which the chorus leave the orchestra and enter the palace during the progress of the play. These are two in number, and of course involve two passings each between "stage" and orchestra. The situation in the Helen is clearly seen from the following passages, 327 ff.:

*Χο. θέλω δὲ καὶ γὰρ σοὶ συνεισελθεῖν δόμους
καὶ συμπυθέσθαι παρθένου θεσπίσματα.*

* * * * *

*Ἐλ. φίλαι, λόγους ἐδεξάμαν·
βᾶτε βᾶτε δ' εἰς δόμους.*

They return in 515:

*Χο. ἤκουσα τᾶς θεσπιφοδοῦ κόρας,
ἃ χρήσας' ἐφάνη 'ν τυράννοις
δόμοις, κτέ.*

So in the Lysistrata both the chorus of men and the chorus of women¹ enter the citadel at the invitation of Lysistrata (1182 ff.). That the women as well as the men go in is shown by the character of the following ode sung by the former (cf. 1195 ff.: *πᾶσιν ὑμῖν λέγω λαμβάνειν τῶν ἐμῶν*

bolae ad rem scaen. Ach. et Av., p. 35, opposes this view. If his view is correct the exit would be made through one of the wings.

¹ This is Schönborn's view (p. 301), strengthened by additional arguments. Droysen (p. 61) holds that only the chorus of men entered, but he gives no grounds for his belief.

χρημάτων νῦν ἔνδοθεν), by the fact that they do not appear again as a separate chorus, and by the scene of the market-loungers (1216-1241), which is plainly thrown in by the poet to fill the gap in the action of the piece caused by the disappearance of both actors and chorus. The two choruses come out again at 1239, and with them the Laconian ambassadors, who now form a third chorus, joining after one choral ode the women of the chorus who are Spartans, while the Athenian men join the Athenian women, and all march together in two bodies from the scene. Lysistrata seems to have become one of the chorus of women.

As bearing on this same point we may cite here the most striking instance of communication between "stage" and orchestra in the Greek drama, that in the Cyclops. The decoration of the scene represents the cave of the Cyclops (cf. 33, 82, 87, etc.). In it are kept his flocks (cf. 35 and 388), as in the Odyssey. The chorus of Satyrs come in accompanied by προσπόλοι driving the flocks, and are directed by Silenus to bid these servants drive them into the cave, 82 ff.:

σιγήσατ', ὦ τέκν', ἄντρα δ' εἰς πετρηρεφῇ
ποίμνας ἀθροῖσαι προσπόλους κελεύσατε.

Their answer shows that the command was obeyed:¹

χωρεῖτ'· ἀτὰρ δὴ τίνα, πάτερ, σπουδὴν ἔχεις;

We may believe that real goats were driven over the "stage," or else that some attempt was made to represent goats by suitable costumes, as the choruses of birds and wasps were represented in Aristophanes. It would hardly suffice that the actions indicated should be carried out only in dumb show with imaginary flocks.

3. Chorus and Actors depart together. In a large number of plays, chorus and actors make their final exit for the same destination, in addition to the three plays already

¹ Bruno Arnold, *De rebus scaenicis in Euripidis Cyclope*, p. 19 ff., feeling the absurdity of making sheep climb steps to a high platform, tries unsuccessfully to prove that they and the chorus enter the "stage" by one of the wings.

cited where this destination is the palace. In every instance it is the natural supposition that they depart together and by the same place of exit, but many writers¹ on this subject, in view of the supposed difficulty caused by the height of the "stage," have supposed the chorus to leave the orchestra by one of the parodoi, and the actors to leave the "stage" through one of the wings; the direction in which they depart would be the same, and the spectators must imagine them to meet after their disappearance from view. It is necessary, therefore, to bring together from the plays, both from the text itself and from the general situation, all the instances which furnish evidence that the actors and chorus were actually together in making their exit.

The closing scene of the Eumenides is a splendid procession in which all take part, — Athene, the Areopagites, the servants of the temple, and the Eumenides. Athene leads the way,² 1003:

προτέραν δ' ἐμὲ χρὴ
στείχειν.

The temple-servants follow with lighted torches, serving as an escort to the procession proper. Cf. 1005:

πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν;

and 1024:

ξὺν προσπόλοισιν, αἵτε φρουροῦσιν, βρέτας
τοῦμὸν δικαίως.

Then come the Areopagites, and lastly the Erinyes themselves, 1010 ff.:

ὕμεῖς δ' ἡγείσθε, πολισσούχοι
παῖδες Κραναοῦ, ταῖσδε μετοίκοις.

¹ Schönborn, pp. 129, 134 and 137, and A. Müller, *Bühnenalt.*, p. 119. It seems strange that the latter, while seeing the absurdity of supposing that actors and chorus in such passages are seen by the spectators to depart in different directions for the same destination, should not have realized that it would be almost as absurd for them to be on widely different levels, separated by an impassable barrier.

² See Wecklein, *Orestie*, note on Eum. 1032.

Any interpretation of this scene which would make the rear of the procession depart on a different level and by a different route from that taken by Athene and the Areopagites would ruin its grandeur and impressiveness.

Equally repugnant to our ideas of artistic propriety, as well as in direct contradiction to the words of the text, is the supposition that in the Septem the semi-choruses do not follow directly after Antigone and Ismene in the funeral trains of Polynices and Eteocles respectively. Cf. 1068 ff.:

Ἡμίχορος Α'. ἡμεῖς μὲν ἵμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν
αἶδε προπομποὶ κτέ.

* * * * *

Ἡμίχορος Β'. ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα τῷδε κτέ.

It is inconceivable that the poet should represent the body and chief mourners as moving off the "stage," while the principal part of the funeral procession is marching ten feet below, intending to join the body outside. If this division of the chorus was to be at all effective, the second semi-chorus must have openly shared the danger of Antigone. The semi-choruses must have gone over the "stage" or the actors into the orchestra. The analogy of Ecc. 1149, Plut. 1208, and Vesp. 1516 (see p. 18) is decidedly in favor of the latter course. The words of the text alone, apart from aesthetic reasons, demand that all should go out together (cf. προπομποί and ἅμα τῷδε).

The correctness of this view is proven conclusively by comparison of the scene in the Septem with a similar scene in the Alcestis.¹ Admetus is addressing the chorus, 422 ff.:

ἀλλ' ἐκφορὰν γὰρ τοῦδε θήσομαι νεκροῦ,
πάρεστε καὶ μένοντες ἀντηχήσατε
παιᾶνα τῷ κάτωθεν ἀσπόνδῳ θεῷ.

The funeral accordingly takes place, and, as we expect from the above words, the choreutae follow in the procession (cf. 740, στείχωμεν, ὡς ἂν ἐν πυρᾷ θῶμεν νεκρόν). Neither Ad-

¹ Cf. Harzmann's Quaes. Scaen. (Diss. Inaug., Halle, 1889), p. 39.

metus nor the chorus is seen again until they return from the tomb, 861 ff.:

Ἀδ. ἰώ, στυγναὶ πρόσοδοι, στυγναὶ δ' ὄψεις
χρήρων μελάρων.

* * * * *

Χο. πρόβα πρόβα· βᾶθι κεύθος οἴκων.

Admetus and the chorus both go out and return together.

The Suppliants of Aeschylus also closes with a procession, consisting of Danaus with his body-guards and the chorus with their attendants. The King bids the chorus go to the city (954 ff.), but before complying they ask that their father be sent to guide them (968 ff.). Accordingly when Danaus arrives (980) with his body-guard (cf. 985 ff.), and after he has given the necessary instructions, we must suppose that they all begin to move off the scene. Danaus, as we should expect, was at their head,¹ for he was the first to disappear from view, as is shown by the fact that he says nothing in the last sixty verses of the play.

The chorus of men of Salamis in the Ajax follow the body of their chief in the funeral procession with which the play closes. This cannot be doubted when we remember that the words 1413 ff.,

ἀλλ' ἄγε πᾶς, φίλος ὅστις ἀνὴρ
φησὶ παρῆναι, σούσθω, βάτω
τῷδ' ἀνδρὶ πονῶν τῷ πάντ' ἀγαθῷ
κούδενί πω λῶνι θνητῶν,

could refer to none so well as to the men of the chorus who were devoted adherents of the fallen Ajax.

In the Philoctetes also we find the same conclusion. Philoctetes, Odysseus, Neoptolemus, and the chorus of sailors all go out together. Cf 1469:

χωρῶμεν δὴ πάντες ἀολλεῖς.

¹ Schönborn, p. 286, also takes this interpretation here, because he thinks that the chorus was on the "stage" throughout the play. But see p. 36, of this article.

It does not satisfy either the word ἀλλεῖς¹ or the demands of the situation to interpret these words of the chorus as referring only to themselves. We have here a tragedy with a happy ending, where former enemies become reconciled and leave the scene together in token of their reconciliation, — such a scene as Aristotle² comments upon as more suitable to comedy than to tragedy.

The chorus of Satyrs in the Cyclops follow Odysseus to his ship. There is no reason here to doubt that they join the company of Odysseus in all respects as do his other attendants. Cf. 708 ff.:

ἡμεῖς δὲ συνναῦται γε τοῦδ' Ὀδυσσεώς
ὄντες τὸ λοιπὸν Βακχίῳ δουλεύσομεν.

In the Suppliants of Euripides the chorus go with Adrastus from the scene. Cf. 1232:

στείχωμεν, Ἀδραστε, κτέ.

As will be shown later, Adrastus and the women of the chorus, having the same mission, are together throughout a large portion of the play. It is quite fitting therefore that he, their leader, should conduct them home at the end, just as Danaus leads the chorus in the Suppliants of Aeschylus.

The chorus in the Ion are servants of Creusa, and we may reasonably believe that they attend their mistress as servants at the close of the play when she sets out for her home in Athens. Although there is no direct evidence that they make their exit together, we have learned from the instances already cited that a procession was a favorite conclusion for a drama, and here the situation demands it; the very relation of the chorus to the actors requires this manner of exit.

Although in the Troades the herald of Agamemnon orders Hecabe to follow him (1269), and orders the women of the chorus to wait for the call of the trumpet, yet Hecabe

¹ Cf. ἀλλεῖς in Trach. 513, οἱ τότε ἀλλεῖς ἴσαν ἐς μέσον, referring to the fierce hand to hand battle of Acheloüs and Heracles.

² Poetics, 1453 A, cited by Campbell.

remains until the close of the play, and the chorus leave immediately after her. Cf. 1328 ff.:

Ἐκ. τρομερὰ τρομερὰ μέλεα, φέρετ' ἑ-
μὸν ἵχνος. ἴτ' ἐπὶ τάλαιναν
δούλειον ἀμέραν βίου.

Χο. ἰὼ τάλαινα πόλις· ὅμως δὲ
πρόφερε πόδα σὸν ἐπὶ πλάτας Ἀχαιῶν.

Here we see clearly the poet's fondness for the dramatic conclusion which is under consideration. He detained Hecabe so long after the order to depart for this reason — in order to give the play a more impressive close, by having the former queen Hecabe lead the way for her companions to the life of slavery and humiliation.

Frequently we have found this conclusion of a play in tragedy, in comedy it is well nigh the prevailing one. In eight of the eleven plays of Aristophanes the chorus go out in procession¹ with the actors. Sometimes the effect would be decidedly ludicrous, as in the Acharnians and Wasps; again it would be grand and impressive, as in the Frogs, which reminds us somewhat of the closing scene in the Eumenides. But whatever its object in individual plays, we can readily see how extremely effective such a close would naturally be. The case in the Acharnians² is clear from 1231 ff.:

Δίκ. ἔπεσθέ νυν ἄδοντες ὦ τήνελλα καλλίνικος.

Χο. ἀλλ' ἐψόμεσθα σὴν χάριν κτέ.

In the Frogs, Aeschylus is escorted with great pomp from the lower world by the chorus of Mystae, accompanied by Dionysus and Xanthias. Cf. 1524 ff.:

¹ The same argument is advanced by Professor White in his article The Stage in Aristophanes, Harvard Studies, 1891. The present paper was completed before the appearance of that article, and its conclusions, though similar in several important details, were reached independently. References are given to Professor White's article in every case, I think, of noteworthy agreement or disagreement.

² Droysen, p. 8, agrees with this obviously correct view. Muhl, p. 20, following Schönborn, opposes, but on very weak grounds.

Πλούτων. φαίνετε τοίνυν ὑμεῖς τούτῳ
λαμπάδας ἱεράς, χάμα προπέμπετε
τοῖσιν τούτου τούτον μέλεσιν.

At the close of the Ecclesiazusæ, Blepyrus goes into the orchestra and heads the procession, in which the chorus joins. Cf. 1149 ff.:

Βλ. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δείπνον ἤδη πείξομαι.
ἔχω δέ τοι καὶ δᾶδα ταυτηνὴ καλῶς.

Χο. τί δῆτα διατρίβεις ἔχων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄγεις
ταςδὶ λαβών; ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ καταβαίνεις, ἐγὼ
ἐπάσομαι μέλος τι μελλοδειπνικόν.

* * * * *
κρητικῶς οὖν τὼ πόδε
καὶ σὺ κίνει. Βλ. τοῦτο δρῶ.

With these last words,¹ Blepyrus takes his position at the head of the line and begins the dance with which the play ends. This is very similar to the action at the end of the *Plutus* and the *Wasps*. In the former the choreutæ withdraw to one side, while the procession bound for the temple of Athene marches from the house. At the fitting time they attach themselves to the line, bringing up the rear with songs. Cf. 1208 ff.:

Χο. οὐκ ἔτι τοίνυν εἰκὸς μέλλειν οὐδ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀναχωρεῖν
ἔς τοῦπισθεν· δεῖ γὰρ κατόπιν τούτων ἄδοντας ἔπεσθαι.

In the *Wasps* the sons of Carcinus appear in response to Philocleon's challenge of tragic poets to a contest in dancing. The contest takes place. That it takes place in the orchestra is shown by the fact that the choreutæ draw back to make room for the dancers, just as in the *Plutus* they make room for those who are coming from the house. Cf. 1516 ff.:

φέρε νυν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον ξυγχωρήσωμεν ἅπαντες,
ἵν' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἡμῶν πρόσθεν βεμβικίζωσιν ἑαυτούς.

At last, at the conclusion of the contest, they all leave the scene together, dancing. Cf. 1535 ff.:

¹ But see White, l.c. p. 169, who assigns them to the chorus.

ἀλλ' ἐξάγετ', εἴ τι φιλεῖτ' ὀρχούμενοι, θύραζε
ἡμᾶς ταχύ.

We have already shown (p. 11) how the chorus of women and the chorus of men in the *Lysistrata* leave the orchestra and enter the house in the background, and how at the conclusion of the feast, after they have again made their appearance, they are joined by the Athenians and Laconians who have heretofore been actors. Cf. 1272 ff.:

Λυσ. ἀπάγεσθε ταύτας ὦ Λάκωνες, τασδεδὶ
ὑμεῖς· ἀνὴρ δὲ παρὰ γυναῖκα καὶ γυνή
στήτω παρ' ἄνδρα, κτέ.

Then follow two choral passages by Athenians and Laconians respectively, during which they all go out together.

The Peace, like the *Birds*, closes with a bridal procession. We have seen that in the latter the procession goes into the dwelling represented in the scene. Here, however, the dwelling is the starting point, the country is the destination, as we see from 1316,¹ χρὴ τὴν νύμφην ἔξω τινὰ δεῦρο κομίζειν, and also from 1329, δεῦρ' ὦ γυναῖ εἰς ἀγρόν. One semi-chorus escorts the bridegroom, the other the bride (*Schönborn*, p. 341). Cf. 1339 ff.:

Χο. ἀλλ' ἀράμενοι φέρω-
μεν οἱ προτεταγμένοι
τὸν νυμφίον ὧνδρες.

* * * * *
Τρ. ὦ χαίρετε χαίρετ' ἄν-
δρες, κἂν ξυνέπησθέ μοι
πλακοῦντας ἔδεσθε.

To these passages from tragedy and comedy should be added the entirely anomalous exodos of the *Prometheus*. The Oceanides are with Prometheus, but are warned by Hermes to leave him, lest they too receive harm when he is punished.

¹ Verse 1312, ἀλλ' ὦ πρὸ τοῦ πεινῶντες ἐμβάλλεσθε τῶν λαγῶν is only the motivating of the advance of the chorus toward the "stage." They do not at once attack the viands, for no time is given, and the last verse of the play, quoted above, shows that they have not yet eaten. See, however, White, p. 165.

They refuse, declaring it their purpose to suffer with him.
1058 ff.:

Ἐρ. ἀλλ' οὐν ὑμεῖς γ' αἱ πημοσύναις
συνγκάμνουσαι ταῖς τοῦδε τόπων
μετά ποι χωρεῖτ' ἐκ τῶνδε θοῶς, κτέ.

* * * *

Χο. μετὰ τοῦδ' ὅτι χρὴ πάσχειν ἐθέλω.

And so, when the great convulsion of nature comes, they are engulfed along with Prometheus.¹

We have seen that a natural interpretation of the words of the text, assuming that the arrangement of the theatre offered no obstacle to free and natural action, reveals the fact that in twenty² plays actors and chorus make their exit at the end of the piece together and through the same passage-way. In each one of these plays, therefore, it was necessary for either the actors or the chorus to pass over the dividing line between "stage" and orchestra. In still other plays³ the student may find that purely artistic reasons demand the same conclusion, especially since we know that it was decidedly a favorite conclusion with the classical as it is with the modern dramatists. It gives an opportunity to the poet to group together in one suggestive tableau those in whom the interest of the spectators had been centred.

4. **Chorus and Actors enter together.** The converse of the dramatic conclusion just mentioned, viz.: for the chorus to make their appearance in company with actors, would serve no such artistic purpose, and is by no means so frequent. We have shown that actors and chorus enter together in the midst of the play in the *Alcestis*. In the *Ecclesiazusae* the women who form the chorus are in the early part

¹ This is the only natural interpretation of the words of the text. So Wil-mowitz-Möellendorf, l.c., p. 610. Wecklein, note ad loc., says that verses 1071-79 merely motive the exit of the chorus from the orchestra, to avoid the use of the "machina" again, and that the chorus sink through the ἀναπνεύμα of the orchestra, Prometheus through that of the "stage"!

² In three (*Choëphori*, *Persians*, and *Birds*) into the palace.

³ As for example in the *Trachiniae*, according to Schönborn, p. 134.

of the play actors, or at least not to be distinguished from the actors. They come out from the house (see p. 9) and soon are in the orchestra, practising for the ecclesia (see p. 29). Later in the play (478 ff.) the same women, both actors and chorus, who participated in the opening scene reappear, returning from the ecclesia. They would most naturally come in by the same entrance, even Praxagora, though she entered after the rest (500). In the *Plutus* Carion is sent out to summon his master's friends. He returns with them, 253, but they do not reach the house of Chremylus until 315, although they hasten (cf. 255-8). They must have come in together through the orchestra,¹ just as do Pisthetaerus and Euelpides in the *Birds*. During the whole scene Carion is evidently hurrying on; the old men, grumbling at his haste, trying to keep up with him, are all the while closely engaged in conversation with him.² The words of Carion in 295 and 308 (ἐπεσθε) may be quoted as further proof. In 321 Carion goes into the house.

We can hardly avoid the conclusion that the chorus enter in a similar way in the *Electra* of Euripides. *Electra* has been to the spring for water, and is now slowly returning, chanting her lament. Orestes catches sight of her at 107; her song continues until 166. If, as Schönborn believes, she appeared from the right side door of the scene, the middle door representing her home, she would have had scarcely time to sing so long an ode. But when at its conclusion she is accosted by the girls of the chorus, she is still, apparently, at some distance from the house, for she does not see the two men at the door for fifty verses (215). She seems therefore to be coming slowly from the parodos through the orchestra when the chorus enter from the opposite parodos, invite her to the festival, and express their sympathy. All the

¹ There can be no doubt that they enter together, and the interval between 253 and 315 is too long for a parodos from the wings. See note on p. 9.

² According to Niejahr, *De Poll. loco*, p. xi, though he tries to limit the intermingling of actors and chorus, this feature of the passage would in itself decide for our explanation. "Immo quam maximo jure de universis fabulis mihi videor statuere eos qui inter se colloquantur actores, nisi singularibus de causis disjungendi erant, eodem loco debere versari."

while, as they converse they are slowly moving towards the house, so absorbed that they do not see Orestes and Pylades until they are near the door. Then Electra, being somewhat in advance, runs toward the house, directing the chorus to flee along the path by which they had come in together. Cf. 218 ff.:

φυγῇ σὺ μὲν κατ' οἶμον, εἰς δόμους δ' ἐγὼ
φῶτας κακούργους ἐξαλύξωμεν ποδί.

Before Electra can enter the house Orestes detains her, and the chorus evidently do not quite leave the scene, for they speak again after Electra's fears are allayed (297). The poet's reason for these movements is clear. The chorus in this play are unessential to the action. The motive for their introduction is very slight, and their long and sympathetic conversation with Electra is required to make it appear even sufficient. They are no longer needed during the recognition scene, and the passage just mentioned is the poet's device for withdrawing them from the main action, bringing the brother and sister into greater prominence.

In connection with these three plays it remains to consider four others, in which the chorus is in a peculiar relation towards the actors who first appear, which seems to require that they should either appear together or should at least come in by the same entrance, as if they had been together shortly before. In two of these four, the Suppliants of Aeschylus and the *Ion*, the chorus are the first to speak; in the other two, the *Philoctetes* and the *Bacchantes*, the actors.

In the *Suppliants* Danaus is the father and leader and protector of the chorus. We have seen that he acts in this capacity of leader at the close of the play, conducting his daughters from the scene. What more fitting than that he should be at their head when the play begins, when the maidens enter, marching to the accompaniment of the anapaests, announcing their lineage and their trouble?¹ Their words (12 ff.),

¹ Niejahr, *De Poll. loco*, p. xi, realizing the incongruity of the situation as he is forced to understand it in this passage, says: "Haec ipsa res, Danaum, etsi solus

Δαναὸς δὲ πατὴρ καὶ βούλαρχος
καὶ στασίαρχος, κτέ.,

are to explain to the audience the presence of the old man who is with them, — an explanation all the more necessary since he himself does not speak until 176. That he does not speak, is no objection to our view; neither does Clytemnestra speak in the *Agamemnon* until 264, though addressed as present by the chorus in 83.¹ There is no reason why Danaus should speak before. When he does speak, his words bear out our interpretation of the opening scene, for he apparently has heard them descanting on their troubles and therefore warns them to take counsel, 176 ff.:

παῖδες, φρονεῖν χρή· ξὺν φρονούντι δ' ἤκετε
πιστῶ γέροντι τῷδε ναυκλήρῳ πατρί.

It is to be noted that he says ξὺν . . . ἤκετε. But even if they do not all come upon the scene at the same time, we must still believe that they come through the same entrance. From his first words we see that he has gone in advance of them to this station for the purpose of reconnoitering.

The beginning of the *Ion* reveals a similar situation. The chorus enter the orchestra from one of the parodoi, for otherwise they could not have seen so clearly the figures in the metopes (185 ff.). Creusa, their mistress, enters with them; for, not to repeat the general arguments mentioned before, she is spoken of as present when *Ion* asks whose servants they are, 234:

δμῳαὶ δὲ τίνων κλήζετε δόμων;

Immediately after the answer of the chorus,

Παλλάδος ἔνοικα τρόφιμα μέλαθρα
τῶν ἐμῶν τυράννων.
παρούσας δ' ἀμφὶ τᾶσδ' ἐρωτᾶς,

dux et custos filiarum inducitur, tamen alio loco atque illas et prodire et per aliquantum temporis agere (a v. 176-210), omnino explicari non potest, nisi putabuntur Graeci consuesse actores semper alio loco atque chorum spectare."

¹ Wecklein, *Orestie*, note on *Agam.* 83, thinks that she is still in the palace, quoting in support *Aj.* 134. But in the apostrophe to *Ajax* there is no such indication of the presence of the person addressed as there is in the *Agamemnon*; cf. 85 τί χρέος; τί νέον; κτέ. Electra in the *Choephoroi* is silent from 16 to 84.

Ion turns and looks in the direction indicated and at once sees her. The question arises, why has she not either spoken or been referred to before 237 if she has been present since 184? The explanation is found in the context. Ion refuses the chorus admission into the temple unless they have performed the necessary rites, 226 ff.:

εἰ μὲν ἐθύσατε πέλανον πρὸ δόμων
καί τι πυθέσθαι χρήζετε Φοίβου,
πάριτ' ἐς θυμέλας, κτέ.

Creusa had come to consult Phoebus and must needs enter the temple. She therefore has stopped at an altar *πρὸ δόμων* to make the sacrifice. This altar was probably at one side of the scene not far from the parodos by which she entered, so that she might easily have escaped the notice of Ion, absorbed in his conversation with the maidens. Ion's address to her (238-246) shows that Creusa is still at some distance at first, but coming nearer she draws from him the exclamation of wonder *ἔα· ἄλλ' ἐξέπληξάς με*.

In the *Philoctetes* there is reason to think that the chorus come in with Neoptolemus and Odysseus at the beginning. The office of the chorus in this play was to assist in taking away *Philoctetes* and to fulfil this purpose it was as necessary that they should be in attendance from the beginning as at any time. There is no intimation of their approach before they speak in 135, nor any point between 1 and 135 where their entrance would be quite fitting. It has been claimed that we find no other instance¹ of a chorus being silent throughout 135 verses after their entrance; but this very fact, and the unusual character of the scene, would have made their silence the more effective. How much more impressive it would be,

¹ Schönborn, p. 267. In discussing this point he admits the force of the arguments which require their entrance before 135, but because "tritt nie eine Person mit dem Chore zusammen so auf, dass sie selbst auf dem Logeion, der Chor in der Orchestra erscheint," he puts their entrance at some uncertain point between 1 and 135, nearer the latter. But why was it necessary in any case for one to appear in the orchestra and the other on the "stage," when all artistic reasons are against such a division? Schneidewin-Nauck agrees that the chorus were present from the first.

and to how much higher a pitch would the expectation of the spectators be raised, if, while Neoptolemus is following the instructions of Odysseus and approaching silently the cave of *Philoctetes* (22 *προσελθὼν σῖγα*), the chorus of men cautiously and speechless wait behind to see if the man is in his home, than if the two main actors alone were seen. The first words of the chorus and their movements throughout show that they are fully informed of what passed between Neoptolemus and Odysseus in the opening scene,¹ and Odysseus as he leaves uses a plural verb (126 *δοκῆτε*).² The chorus therefore were not only present from the first, but came in along with the actors.

The reasons given to show that the chorus in the *Suppliants* and Ion appeared either with the actors or following close after through the same entrance, apply also to the *Bacchae*, where Dionysus, having spoken the prologue, in 55 addresses the chorus:

ἀλλ' ὦ λιποῦσαι Τρῶλον ἔρυμα Λυδίας
θίασος ἐμός, γυναῖκες, ἃς ἐκ βαρβάρων
ἐκόμισα παρέδρους καὶ ξυνεμπόρους ἐμοί.

We find no special reason why the chorus should have appeared before this point, and they probably do not, but as the immediate followers of the god, and his fellow-travellers, they must have come by the same way. There is no reason why they should not have come as usual through the parodos into the orchestra as in the *Suppliants* (Aesch.) and *Ion*; hence Dionysus probably reached the "stage" through the orchestra.

Though actors and chorus in the *Birds* do not enter together, yet since the actors at the beginning of that play seem to come in through the orchestra, the passage may be cited here for convenience. *Euelpides* and *Pisthetaerus*

¹ As even Schönborn admits. Jebb, who assumes that the chorus did not enter until 135, is compelled to deny (note on 135) that they show any knowledge of what had passed in 70 ff. But this explanation of their words is forced.

² So we often find servants referred to as present or directly addressed without previous indication of their entrance or presence.

appear, wandering about over a rough, stony country, and at last reach the home of Epops. That this was on ground that was, or was pretended to be, somewhat elevated, is evident not only from the fact that it was the home of a bird, but also from two passages in the play, 49 ff.:

Πισ. οὗτος. Εὐ. τί ἔστιν; Πισ. ἡ κορώνη μοι πάλαι
ἄνω τι φράζει. Εὐ. χῶ κολοῖδς οὐτοσὶ
ἄνω κέχηκεν ὥσπερὶ δεικνύς τί μοι.

and, after they have reached the spot, 175 ff.:

Πισ. βλέπον κάτω. Εὐ. καὶ δὴ βλέπω. Πισ. βλέπε
νῦν ἄνω.

Schönborn (p. 318 ff.) is of the opinion that the two actors enter in the usual way, on the "stage," and then climb by ladders to a balcony which was in front of the house of the Epops. The difficulty with this view is twofold. In the first place, the house of Epops is the central point of the action of the play for over a thousand verses; all actors would thus have to mount the ladders at their entrance and descend again at their exit. Secondly, the whole chorus, soon after their entrance into the orchestra, make an attack upon Euelpides and Pisthetaerus, who are supposed to be in the balcony. Now according to Schönborn the chorus would not only have to ascend the high stage, but would also have to ascend the ladders to the balcony,—either of which actions would be out of the question for a large chorus, and which, taken together, are absolutely inconceivable. A balcony therefore was not used, and the place to which the two actors ascended was such that it could be readily reached by the chorus also. Since after the opening scene no reference is made to the height of this place, it is probable that the difficulty of the ascent was suggested to the spectators mainly by the actions and words of the chorus, and not to any important extent by the nature of the ground. Cf. p. 76. That the actors enter through the orchestra is shown by the time occupied in reaching the door of the house of Epops (from 1 to 54).¹

¹ Compare the beginning of the *Plutus*; see p. 21. These two passages furnish valuable evidence in favor of the view that in all of the plays cited under this head actors and chorus entered together through the orchestra.

5. Chariot Scenes. In four plays actors enter in chariots. The question has been much discussed whether the chariot appeared in the orchestra or on the stage. Hermann¹ claimed that, since actors never reached the stage through the orchestra, chariots also must have come in on the stage, unless it could be shown that there was too little space between the rear wall and the periacti (i.e. in the wings) for the passage of horses and chariots; and this, he held, could not be shown, because several actors bearing a corpse often enter and depart through these passages. But, as a matter of fact, actors often do reach the "stage" from the orchestra;² and the presence of chariot and horses on the very narrow stage in which Hermann believed, would have given rise to endless confusion, especially since they appear occasionally to remain for a long time on the scene.³ But the most conclusive answer is gained by a comparison of the various scenes in which this occurrence is found. In the *Iphigenia at Aulis* the context shows that the chariot appeared in the orchestra. The women of Chalcis, who form the chorus, when they see Clytemnestra and Iphigenia approaching, propose to assist them from their chariot, 598 ff.:

στῶμεν, Χαλκίδος ἔκγονα θρέμματα
τὴν βασιλείαν δεξώμεθ' ὄχων
ἄπο μὴ σφαλερῶς ἐπὶ γαίαν
ἀγανῶς δὲ χεροῖν μαλακῇ γνώμη,

and so we are prepared for the following words of Clytemnestra, 607 ff.:

¹ De re scen. in Aesch. *Orest.*, p. 7. For references to the literature of the discussion on this point see Müller's *Bühnenalt.*, p. 134, note 1. Müller adopts Hermann's view partly for the reasons quoted above, partly because of the presence of the supposed raised platform in the orchestra. But since this platform has been discarded, only Hermann's arguments are left in support of the view.

² We have already discussed the instances in the *Plutus*, *Ion* and *Birds*, pp. 21, 23 and 25. Niejahr, *Quaes. Arist. Scaen.*, p. 28 and *Comment. Scaen.*, p. 5, thinks that this occurs only in chariot-scenes.

³ In the *Agamemnon* from 728 to 1294 (A. Müller), in *Troades* from 569 to 789 (Schönborn).

ὄρνιθα μὲν τόνδ' αἷσιον ποιούμεθα
τὸν σὸν τε χρηστὸν καὶ λόγων εὐφημίαν.

* * * * *

ἀλλ' ὀχημάτων
ἔξω πορεύεθ' ἄς φέρω φερνὰς κόρη,
καὶ πέμπετ' εἰς μέλαθρον εὐλαβούμενοι.
σὺ δ', ὦ τέκνον μοι, λείπε πωλικὸν ὄχον,
ἄβρὸν τιθείσα κῶλον ἀσθενὲς θ' ἄμα.
ὑμεῖς δὲ νεάνιδές νιν ἀγκάλαις ἔπι
δέξασθε καὶ πορεύσατ' ἐξ ὀχημάτων.

Schönborn (p. 231 ff.) has shown that even if we follow Dindorf in rejecting the verses by the chorus (598-606) as an interpolation, we are still obliged to understand the words of Clytemnestra, ὑμεῖς δὲ νεάνιδες, as addressed to the choreutae, whom she has just thanked for their kind offer. The fact that their services were offered and accepted in this way, which would require that the choreutae should go upon the "stage," combined with the additional awkwardness of having a chariot and horses upon a high and narrow platform, is enough to establish the view of Schönborn that the chariot here, and consequently everywhere, entered by the orchestra. Accepting this view therefore, Clytemnestra, Iphigenia, and the servants who accompanied them passed from orchestra to "stage" in the Iphigenia at Aulis; in the Agamemnon 905 ff., Agamemnon and Cassandra; in the Electra (Eur.) 998, Clytemnestra and her maids; in the Troades 568 ff., Andromache and Astyanax.¹ If this view is not taken, then the chorus in the Iphigenia must go upon the "stage" in order to assist Iphigenia, — fully as difficult a movement, supposing that the "stage" were high, as the other view would involve, by which six actors with their attendants would mount the "stage." From Persians 607 ff.:

τοιγὰρ κέλευθον τήνδ' ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων
χλιδῆς τε τῆς πάροιθεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν
ἔστειλα,

¹ Schönborn, p. 237, endeavors to show that they do not descend from the chariot at all.

we infer that Atossa, when she enters (at 159), is borne on a chariot, making a possible fifth instance under this head; and from 1001, τροχηλάτοισιν σκηναῖς, that Xerxes enters in this way. Since chariots enter the orchestra, the ἀμαξήρης τρίβος (Orest. 1251) would also pass through the orchestra,¹ and actors appearing on asses or horses should properly ride into the orchestra; therefore we may decide that in the orchestra appear Ismene in Oedipus at Colonus 310 (cf. 313 ἐπὶ πώλῳ), and Xanthias in the first act of the Frogs.

6. Assembly Scenes. In three plays of Aristophanes, the Acharnians, Ecclesiazusae, and Thesmophoriazusae, we find scenes in imitation of the public assemblies of the Athenians, clearly intended to be as realistic as such burlesques could be. The place of assembly is provided with seats for the citizens (Ach. 42, Thes. 292) and with the βῆμα for the speakers (Ecc. 104); the usual officers are present, — πρυτάνεις (Ach. 40), τοξόται (Ach. 54), κήρυκες (Ach. 43, Thes. 295); the regular forms of the ἐκκλησία are employed, — the purification (Ecc. 128), the prayer (Thes. 295), the reading of the προβούλευμα (Thes. 372), the call for speakers (Ach. 45, Ecc. 130, Thes. 379), the putting on of the speaker's chaplet (Ecc. 122, 131, Thes. 380); formal speeches are delivered, and the adjournment announced (Ach. 173). From a comparison of these plays we are enabled to form a fairly correct idea of the manner in which these representations were given, and of the movements of the participants. In two, the Ecclesiazusae and Thesmophoriazusae, the chorus form the body of the assembly; hence it is clear that, as we should naturally suppose, the open and commodious space of the orchestra was the place of assembly. The speaker's stand would be near the wall of the scene, so that the speaker should face the audience in the theatre and become in reality an actor, and must therefore have been on the

¹ Cited wrongly therefore by Müller (p. 126) as bringing the chorus on the "stage." The chariot of the Oceanides in the Prometheus and that of Athene in the Eumenides do not belong in this discussion, inasmuch as they come down from above.

"stage." In accordance with this view we find that the only actors in the first 280 verses of the Ecclesiazusae, in which we have a mimic assembly, become with their attendants the chorus,¹ and leave the scene singing a choral ode. The one who plays the leading part in the piece seems to be also the coryphaeus (cf. 491 ἡ στρατηγός), leading the chorus as they march out to the ἐκκλησία. On the other hand, in the Acharnians, Dicaeopolis, the principal actor, has a part that is always distinct from that of the chorus; yet, after examining the other two plays, we cannot doubt that he took his seat in the orchestra as a member of the assembly,² and that he did not go upon the "stage"—that is, the usual position for actors—until the assembly was dismissed. He then crossed it to enter his house in the background.³ Cf. 202 :

¹ That the women who form the chorus come from the houses in the scene and from the wings, we have shown, p. 9. When, moreover, we consider that this was a street scene, it becomes evident that these were the only directions from which they could come without introducing inconsistency. See on this point p. 62. Niejahr, De Poll. loco, p. VII, contends that those who take part in the assembly scene of the Ecclesiazusae are actors, and therefore on the "stage," and that no chorus appears until 285, because the women of the mimic assembly, when about to leave in 280, say that others "from the country" will appear at the ecclesia; that the women who sing the choral passage 285-310 speak of themselves in 300 as from the country, and hence are those predicted in 280. If this is true, the chorus appear in 285 and disappear in 310,—a thing unheard of in extant plays. Niejahr is inconsistent also; for he insists (p. VIII) that in the Thesmophoriazusae the assembly scene takes place in the orchestra and yet denies it for the Ecclesiazusae.

² Harzmann, p. 56, reaches this conclusion because of the numbers that would otherwise be brought upon the stage; see p. 57.

³ Droysen, Quaes. de Arist. re scaen., p. 10, after having proved conclusively that Aristophanes regularly uses εἰς-ίέναι-έρχεσθαι, etc., with the meaning of "enter the house" in the background of the scene, tries to make an exception of εἰσιόν in this passage, on the ground that Dicaeopolis was going to celebrate the rural Dionysia. He would translate it "domum ibo." But in 240 the chorus uses the verb ἐξέρχεται at the reappearance of Dicaeopolis, which Droysen has also shown to mean always "come out of the house." Moreover, the two other exceptional uses of εἰσιέναι that he cites, Pax 427 and Lys. 246, are also best taken in their usual meaning (see note p. 76). Muhl, Symbolae, p. 11, proves conclusively that here, as often in Aristophanes, the same scenery is used in two successive acts without change, it being left to the spectators to imagine the change of scene from the words of the actors.

ἄξω τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς εἰσιὼν Διονύσια.

This is made certain by comparison with the Thesmophoriazusae. There Mnesilochus, the principal actor in the play, disguised as a woman, goes into the orchestra and takes his seat among the women who constitute the assembly and who are the chorus. Soon he goes forward to the βῆμα and addresses the assembly (466) precisely as two women of the chorus had done before him.¹ So too in the Ecclesiazusae members of the chorus go forward and address the assembly, returning then to their seats.

The results then of our study of this feature of these three² plays are as follows. An actor in the Acharnians appears first in the orchestra, remains through 200 verses, and then enters the house in the background. In the Ecclesiazusae the women who go through the forms of an assembly before the spectators, come from the houses in the rear and take seats in the orchestra, with the exception of their leader Praxagora, the ἐπιστάτης of the meeting, and there they begin to practise the forms of an assembly (cf. 57 and 121). One speaker after another goes forward to the regular place for the actors, speaks, and again retires into the orchestra. Finally they all leave the scene, Praxagora at their head. She also then must have gone into the orchestra. On their return she goes again upon the "stage," and thenceforward is only an actor. In the Thesmophoriazusae the chorus seem to come from the temple, as does also the herald, and enter the orchestra to form the assembly. Mnesilochus, hitherto an actor, goes into the orchestra before them and takes his seat as one of them (cf. 292); with others he goes forward and speaks. That he then returns to the orchestra is shown by the fact that he is soon attacked by the chorus, who are still there (cf. 567 ff.). He seems to re-

¹ Geppert, l.c. p. 163, says: "Die ganze Scene von 295 an spielt offenbar in der Orchestra, indem die einzelnen Redner (383, 443, 466) wie bei Volksversammlungen die Bühne besteigen." Droysen, l.c. p. 68, denies this without reason.

² The meeting and discussion of the women in the early part of the Lysistrata is so similar to the portion of the Ecclesiazusae above cited that it might almost be added to these three, but the forms of an assembly are entirely wanting.

main there until 689, when he flees to the altar, which was presumably near the door of the Thesmophorium (see p. 35).

Γυνή α'. ἃ ποῖ σὺ φεύγεις; οὗτος οὗτος οὐ μενεῖς;

* * * *

Μνη. ἀλλ' ἐνθάδ' ἐπὶ τῶν μηρίων κτέ.

Since the further action of the piece was on the "stage," we may be sure that the altar was located where we have supposed. During this assembly scene Clisthenes enters, with the information that a man is in the midst of them disguised as a woman. He goes into the orchestra to examine all who are there. Laying hold of Mnesilochus he says, 617:

οὐ βαδιεῖ δεῦρ' ὥς ἐμέ;

Μνη. τί δῆτά μ' ἔλκεις ἀσθενοῦσαν;

In the following verses he helps to strip Mnesilochus, finally leaving the now broken-up assembly through one of the wings.

7. Search Scenes. In four plays the chorus seem to traverse the whole available space of the scene in their search for an actor, who twice is at length found upon the "stage" at the altar. This is the case at the end of the assembly scene just described in the Thesmophoriazusae, where it is the poet's device for breaking up the formal assembly and merging it into the main action of the play. After Mnesilochus, on the information of Clisthenes, is discovered disguised as a woman in his seat in the orchestra, the chorus scour the entire region to see that no other man is in hiding among them. Cf. 657 ff. (the entire passage):

ζητεῖν, εἴ που κάλλος τις ἀνὴρ ἐσελήλυθε, καὶ περιθρέξαι
τὴν πύκνα πᾶσαν καὶ τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ τὰς διόδους
διαθρήσαι.

εἶα δὲ πρῶτιστα μὲν χρὴ κοῦφον ἐξορμᾶν πόδα
καὶ διασκοπεῖν σιωπῇ πανταχῇ.

* * * *

ἀλλ' εἰχ' ἡμῖν ἅπαντά πως διεσκέφθαι καλῶς.
οὐχ ὁρώμεν γοῦν ἐτ' ἄλλον οὐδέν' ἐγκαθήμενον.

When these last words were spoken they had completed their circuit (cf. 662 *τρέχειν κύκλῳ*). We cannot suppose that in their zeal they would leave an inch of ground unexamined. Mnesilochus had taken advantage of their absence and diverted attention to seize the child of one of them and to take his stand at the altar, as described above. One or more follow him and guard him, probably until the arrival of the Prytanis, 929. When they are about to kindle a fire about him (726 ff.), and when he cuts the wine-skin and one of the women holds a bowl below, some at least of the chorus are very near him. Even during the parabasis it is evidently the presence of the chorus that prevents any attempt to escape, since only one woman was left to guard him (762).

In the Oedipus at Colonus the chorus on their entrance search carefully for the intruder in the sacred grove. Cf. 117 ff.:

Χο. λεύσατ' αὐτόν· προσδέρκου,
προσπεύθου πανταχῇ.

* * * *

ὅν ἐγὼ λεύσσω
περὶ πᾶν οὐπω δύναμαι τέμενος
γινῶναι ποῦ μοί ποτε ναίει.

They would leave no spot untraversed except the ground of the sacred enclosure itself. Oedipus, who shows himself immediately after the words just quoted, probably does not appear until the chorus are in a position to see him, i.e. until they had reached in their search the *ἀντίπετρος βῆμα* (192) which bounded the sacred enclosure.

Very similar is Eumenides 244 ff. The Furies are tracking Orestes by the blood-stains on the ground. They must enter the scene over precisely the same route that Orestes had taken, if we are to interpret strictly their words:

εἶεν· τόδ' ἐστὶ τὰνδρὸς ἐκφανὲς τέκμαρ.
ἔπου δὲ μηνυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτου φραδαῖς.
τετραυματισμένον γὰρ ὥς κύων νεβρὸν
πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σταλαγμὸν ἐκματεύομεν,

that is, we have another violation of Hermann's rule that

actors must not enter through the orchestra. At any rate the chorus search over the entire scene. Cf. 255 ff.:

ὄρα ὄρα μάλ' αὖ λεῦσσε τε πάντα, μὴ
λάθῃ φύγδα βὰς ματροφόνοσ ἀτίτας.

When at length they discover him they seem to be on the "stage" near Orestes, who is hiding behind the statue¹ of Athene. We have seen (p. 13) that they depart with the actors at the close of the piece. During the trial scene, between this and the closing scene, we may reasonably believe that they remained near Orestes as his accusers and prosecutors.

The sailors in the Ajax, as they set out in opposite directions in search of their chieftain (805 ff.), so appear again from different directions (865). They are still searching for Ajax, when they hear indistinctly his fall (870), and soon the cry of Tecmessa (891), who, though she had gone more slowly (810), had found him first. She is still at some distance, for her cry is but faintly heard (892) and she herself is not seen immediately. Soon the choreutae come nearer, and ask what is her trouble (897). She points to the body of Ajax, which they now see for the first time (898 *Αἶας ὅδε κείται*). They are not near enough, however, to understand the whole situation (905). Coming nearer, they ask to see Ajax, but Tecmessa has covered him and refuses to let him be seen (915 ff. *οὔτοι θεατός κτέ*). From this point the body of Ajax is the central point of the action. It would therefore be in the part called the "stage," and so far back as to be scarcely visible even to the nearest spectators.² The choreutae, then, are on the "stage" when they ask to see the body, just as Teucer is when he makes the same request³ (1003). They sing with Tecmessa lamenta-

¹ Cf. Niejahr De Poll. loc., p. xvi: "In scena, ante ipsum templum illam statuum positam esse demonstratur eo quod chorus Furiarum in orchestram ingressus matricidam non statim conspicit, sed adesse eum praesentens ad indagandum eum se cohortatur."

² That dead bodies were always seen near the rear wall of the scene is shown by Niejahr, De Poll. loc., p. xiv.

³ This request of Teucer was probably addressed to the chorus—another

tions¹ over the body, and when Teucer leaves he bids them stand by to protect it.² 1182 ff.:

ὕμεις τε μὴ γυναικες ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν πέλας
παρέστατ', ἀλλ' ἀρήγετ', ἐς τ' ἐγὼ μὲν
τάφου μεληθείς τῷδε, κἂν μηδεὶς ἔῃ.

We have seen that at the close of the play they help to bear out the body.

It seems probable that we have a similar situation in the following passage from the Hecabe, although it is the actor here, rather than the chorus, who makes the search. Within the palace Hecabe and her attendants have put out the eyes of Polymnestor and have killed his two children. She herself comes from the palace, and seeing him breaking the doors and forcing his way out she avoids him, probably hiding in one of the passages, 1054 ff.:

ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν ἄπειμι κάποστήσομαι
θυμῷ ζέοντι Θρηκὶ δυσμαχωτάτῳ.

Since Polymnestor is eagerly searching for the women who injured him, he would traverse all the accessible space, going even into the orchestra (cf. 1000, 65, and 70), following the sound of their footsteps (1070). As soon as he hears their voice (1085), he shouts for help and goes in pursuit (1099 *ποῦ τράπωμαι; ποῖ πορευθῶ;*). We see at a glance that a scene like this precludes the possibility of a raised stage. But any other action than that we have described would be tame in comparison with the natural suggestions of the context.

8. Altar Scenes. The altars of the gods, which were near the front of the palace,³ were the place of refuge for

proof of their presence. So Schneidewin-Nauck, note ad loc. For the opposing view see Piderit, *Scenische Analysis des Soph. Dramas Ajas*, p. 39.

¹ Those who lament over dead bodies should always be together; cf. Sept. ad fin. Compare the pouring of libations in Cho., Pers., and Iph. Taur.; see p. 45.

² Schönborn, p. 259, gives all these arguments, strengthened also by v. 892, if *πάρανλος* may mean *ἐγγύς*, but still holds to the opposite view. His principal objection seems to be the supposed difficulty of mounting the stage.

³ Almost all scholars who have adhered to the old view of the stage place the altars and images of the gods always on the stage. But all the arguments given

those in distress or danger. Orestes in the Eumenides seeks protection at the altar of Athene, and the children of Heracles in the play of Euripides at the altar of Zeus, — in both cases actors. When those who seek protection are members of the chorus, as in three plays, then they must of necessity pass over the boundary between "stage" and orchestra. The Danaids in the Suppliants of Aeschylus sing the first stasimon in the orchestra. At the approach of strangers, Danaus directs them to seek the altars near him, 188 ff.:

ἄμεινόν ἐστι παντὸς οὔνεκ', ὦ κόραι,
πάγον προσίζειν τόνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν.
κρείσσων δὲ πύργου βωμὸς, ἄρρηκτον σάκος.
ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα βᾶτε.

Cf. also 208:

Χο. θέλοιμ' ἂν ἥδη σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔχειν,

to which Danaus replies μή νυν σχόλαζε. The chorus remain at the altars until 516 (circ.). The king asks them to leave their suppliant boughs there (αὐτοῦ) and to go back to their former place in the orchestra (λευρὸν ἄλσος); cf. 506 ff.:

κλάδους μὲν αὐτοῦ λείπε, σημεῖον πόνου.

* * * *

λευρὸν κατ' ἄλσος νῦν ἐπιστρέφον τόδε.

Χο. καὶ πῶς βέβηλον ἄλσος ἂν ῥυιτό με;

Their fears are soon allayed and they obey, singing the second stasimon immediately following from their usual station. Again, in 832, they flee to the altars to escape the herald of the sons of Aegyptus. The word ἀλκή in the cry of the chorus, βαῖνε φυγὰ πρὸς ἀλκάν, is to be interpreted by the previous commands of Danaus in verses 731 ff. and 773 ff., as well as by the words of the herald (852), λείφ' ἔδρανα. We have already seen that the chorus make their final exit together with Danaus.

in favor of this (see Niejahr, De Poll. loc., p. ix) prove only that they were near the rear wall of the scene, i.e. in the part of the orchestra most distant from the spectators, according to Dörpfeld's view.

The action of the chorus in the Septem is similar. The sound of the approaching army fills them with alarm, and they flee to the altars of the gods, 96 ff.:

ἰὼ μάκαρες εὐεδροὶ, ἀκμάζει βρετέων
ἔχεσθαι. τί μέλλομεν ἀγαστονοί;

Eteocles sends them back again to the orchestra, 265 ff.:

ἐκτὸς οὖσ' ἀγαλμάτων
εὖχου τὰ κρείσσω.

We must suppose that they obey, for they at once begin the first stasimon.¹ Of the opening scene of Euripides's Suppliants we have already spoken (p. 8).

9. Chorus called to Palace — Libation Scenes, etc. It is a very frequent occurrence for the chorus, whose usual station was in the orchestra, but near by the palace (see p. 55), to be called into the palace by actors. Often the chorus decide, after debate or consultation, to answer the call; again they refuse through fear; but in no case do they actually carry out their intention of going inside, being checked by some circumstance, such as the arrival of a new actor, while approaching the house. In five plays, however, I think it can be shown that the choreutae advance to a position near the doors of the house, and therefore go upon the "stage."

In the Ajax, Tecmessa comes out of the tent and asks the chorus of sailors to try to calm her lord. Cf. 328 ff.:

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλοι, τούτων γὰρ οὔνεκ' ἐστάλην,
ἀρήξατ' εἰσελθόντες, εἰ δύνασθέ τι.

They accordingly quit the orchestra. When on the "stage" near the tent they ask that the door be opened (344), to which Tecmessa replies:

ἰδοῦ, διοίγω· προσβλέπειν δ' ἔξεστί σοι
τὰ τοῦδε πράγη, καὐτὸς ὡς ἔχων κυρεῖ.

¹ "Saepius hoc fit in fabulis, ut si quid aut chorus aut actores facere jubeantur, id ei efficere putandi sint, tametsi hoc ipsum verbis non est indicatum." Niejahr De Poll. loco, p. III.

They remain there for some time with Ajax. At last he orders the doors closed (cf. 579-81 and 93), and despairing of ever diverting him from his purpose, they go back again to their position. They are in the orchestra at the beginning of the next stasimon. In this passage the poet had good reason for allowing the chorus to carry out their intention. Ajax, sitting in the midst of the slaughtered sheep, surrounded by blood and filth, could not be shown in all his misery to the spectators. It was enough that these should have an account of these revolting details from others. We notice that the chorus describe all that they see with minuteness of detail; they were where they could see what the spectators could not see.¹

So in the Agamemnon. After long discussion the choreutae decide to go to the aid of Agamemnon after they have heard his cries from within. At once Clytemnestra comes out. It is too late to aid the hero, but the poet's purpose is accomplished, and the chorus is on the "stage,"² grouped about the open door of the palace, looking at the bodies of the slain. There are many indications that the bodies are in sight of the chorus (e.g. 1405, 1581, etc.), but none that they were seen by the whole theatre. On the contrary, the chorus is brought near the palace for the very purpose of making it unnecessary that the whole spectacle should be seen by the audience. The aesthetic taste which required that such scenes should be enacted out of the sight of the spectators would surely demand that they should remain out of sight as far as possible. The chorus was probably in the orchestra again at the beginning of the commos, 1447 ff.

Similarly in the Hippolytus one semi-chorus is inclined to go into the house where Phaedra is attempting to take her own life, 782 f. :

¹ It is a widely accepted view that in this and some of the following scenes the eccyclema was employed to show the bodies, and that the chorus need not have been upon the stage, but Neckel, *Das Ekkyklema*, Prog. Gym. Fried. 1890, has proved that this machine was not used in any of the extant tragedies, except in the Heracles (and this seems to me to be very doubtful). We may follow therefore the natural suggestions of the plays as to the movements of the chorus.

² So Wecklein, note ad loc.

φίλοι, τί δρῶμεν; ἢ δοκεῖ περᾶν δόμους
λύσαι τ' ἀνασσαν ἐξ ἐπισπαστῶν βρόχων;

In 788, before they could have gone far, they infer from the words of the nurse, who is inside the palace, that Phaedra is dead. There was no longer reason for their going in. But they had already advanced toward the house, for they clearly hear the nurse's commands within the house, and speak of themselves as "just arrived at the house" when Theseus questions them about the outcry. Cf. 790 ff. :

γυναῖκες, ἴστε τίς ποτ' ἐν δόμοις βοή;

* * * * *

Χο. τοσοῦτον ἴσμεν· ἄρτι γὰρ κᾶγω δόμοις,
Θησεῦ, πάρεμι σὼν κακῶν πενθήτρια.

Then the body of Phaedra is shown. It is seen by the chorus as well as by Theseus; but Hippolytus on his entrance does not see it until several sentences have been spoken. This would support the view that the spectators in general were not supposed to have a clear view of the body and its surroundings, but only those gathered immediately in front of it. Even if it be objected that we cannot assume that the chorus actually go upon the "stage," yet it is clear that they are near the door, and that a difference of ten feet in level would make it impossible for them to see what is within.

The same purpose on the part of the poet, viz. : to use the chorus as a means of avoiding the exhibition of a disgusting spectacle to the theatre, is still more obvious in the Choe-phori. Although the choreutae in fear keep as far as possible from the scene of the murder (cf. 872 ἀποσταθῶμεν πράγματος), yet when the deed is done their presence is so desirable as a means of gaining the full dramatic effect of the exposure of the bodies without in reality making these clearly visible to the spectators, that another motive is devised by the poet for bringing them forward. Orestes calls upon them¹

¹ It is true that ἐντείνετε may be addressed to servants, but this would not be so natural an interpretation. The scholiast, Wecklein, and others favor that given above.

to spread out to view the garment in which Agamemnon had been slain. Cf. 980 ff.:

ἴδεσθε δ' αὖτε, τῶνδ' ἐπήκοοι κακῶν,
* * * * *
ἐκτείναντ' αὐτὸ καὶ κύκλῳ παρασταδὸν
στεγαστρὸν ἀνδρὸς δείξαθ', κτέ.

They probably do not go again into the orchestra, for we have seen that they soon retire into the palace.

In the *Heracles*, also, it appears that the choreutae advance to see the inside of the palace, although, so far as the text shows, not until the calamity has fallen. They see the palace tottering in 905. Soon the messenger comes out and narrates what has happened. Up to this point they have not seen anything inside, but from 1032 ff. they see very distinctly all that has been described before. The natural inference is that, after hearing what has happened within, they advance to the breach in the wall and see what they proceed to describe. That they did approach, and so near that there was danger of their disturbing the sleeping *Heracles*, is seen from the warning of *Amphitryon* 1042 ff. He drives them away from *Heracles*, back into the orchestra.

ἐκαστέρῳ πρόβατε, μὴ
κτυπεῖτε μὴ βοᾶτε, μὴ
τὸν εὖ τ' ἰαύονθ'
ὑπνώδεά τ' εὐνᾶς ἐγείρετε.

* * * * *
σίγα, πνοὰς μάθω· φέρε πρὸς οὓς βάλλω.

Xo. εὔδει;

It is to be noticed that the chorus see every detail at first; but when they withdraw again at the bidding of *Amphitryon* they cannot see even whether *Heracles* is sleeping or not, a circumstance which they had before easily noticed (1034).

In these five passages it is clear that the chorus left their usual position in the orchestra for one nearer the door of the palace. Albert Müller¹ cites several others in which similar

¹ Bühnenalt., p. 127. His citations are *Hipp.*, *Bacch.*, *Cyc.*, *Aj.*, *Hec.*, *And.*, *Supp.* (*Eur.*), and *Ion.* Of these we claim that *Hipp.*, *Aj.*, and *Bacch.* are to

action is proposed but not executed, as proof that, though it was always possible for the chorus to reach the stage from the orchestra, it was always inconvenient and avoided by the poet as much as possible. The prevention of the action is caused by fear on the part of the chorus, by the entrance of an actor, or by the direct prohibition of an actor or semi-chorus. A detailed examination of these passages will show that the poet had weightier reasons for preventing the action than merely to avoid an awkward situation.

The chorus in the *Hecabe* seem inclined to go to the aid of the queen. Cf. 1042:

Xo. βούλεσθ' ἐπεισπέσωμεν; ὥς ἀκμή καλεῖ
Ἑκάβη παρῆναι Τρῳάσιν τε συμμαχούς.

But *Hecabe* herself at once comes out, and soon after her the raging *Polymnestor*, eager to catch any of the women within reach. Surely the chorus would follow the example of *Hecabe*, and get out of the way (1054 ἐκποδὸν ἄπειμι). Accordingly we cannot expect any description of what is seen within the palace, and we do not find it. Except for the announcement by *Hecabe* in 1051 that the bodies of the two children would soon be seen, and a passing reference to them by *Agamemnon* in 1118, we should not know that they were seen at all. Here the poet deliberately gives up the usual grouping of the chorus about the dead bodies for the superior effects of the unique scene we have described above (see also p. 35). In the *Medea* the choreutae decide to go within the palace, but *Jason* arrives before they have yet done so, addressing them as γυναῖκες, αἱ τῆσδ' ἐγγὺς ἔσσετε στέγης (1293). How near they are we cannot tell, but there is no need of their being on the "stage" after *Medea* appears above in her chariot, and so we may assume that they are not unusually near. In the *Andromache*, 817 ff., *Hermione* comes out of the house just after the chorus have been asked to go in to calm her. The reason for entering no

be rejected, the two former because the action of approaching the palace was carried out, the last because of a misunderstanding of Müller's. I have added *Med.* and *Ach.* to the passages for discussion.

longer existed, so that it cannot be held that any difficulty in the action prevented its execution. The same may be said of Cyclops, 630 ff. The chorus of Satyrs refuse to help Odysseus against Polyphemus, but the poet's object in this was to make a display of their ridiculous cowardice. In the same play a drove of goats had been driven from the orchestra into the cave, showing that the act of crossing was not in itself inconvenient. The mothers who form the chorus in the Suppliants (Eur.) are not permitted to go forward to touch the dead bodies of their sons at 940 ff., but they have once before (815 ff.; see p. 44) been permitted to embrace them. It is hard to see the reason for the distinction, but it has been suggested that in the later passage the mothers were to do more than to embrace, — they expected to uncover the faces for a last look, — and this is forbidden on account of the foul condition of the bodies (cf. 944–945), which had not yet been washed. The reason why the chorus in the Ion, 219 ff., do not go into the temple (see p. 23) is perfectly good, both from the poet's point of view and from that of the spectators. It would have been offensive to the religious feelings of the Athenians if these servants had been permitted to enter the holy shrine of Apollo from motives of idle curiosity, and the poet needed their presence in order to effect the meeting between Creusa and Ion. I need cite but one more instance of this kind. In the Acharnians, 564, one semi-chorus is about to strike Dicaeopolis, but is prevented by the other semi-chorus; yet in 280 all the chorus had attacked him violently.¹

In all of these passages the poetic reason for the non-performance of the proposed action is strong enough and apparent enough to explain its prevention. Either the poet has special reasons for preventing the action or in the natural progress of the play the action was no longer necessary. Similar occurrences are frequent where going upon the "stage" does not enter into the question, as in Philoctetes 887, where the chorus are probably on the "stage" already; and yet no one

¹ A. Müller quotes also Bacch. 954 ff.; but Dionysus could not be addressing the chorus, since he had not yet come out of the palace.

has for a moment supposed in such cases that the proposed action was attended with especial difficulty.

We have seen, therefore, from the very passages that Müller quotes in favor of his theory of the stage, that we need not suppose that the poet was hampered in this way by the inconvenient arrangement of the theatre in which his dramas were to be performed, for the action would probably have been the same, however convenient the arrangements for the setting of the play might have been. But in case this proof should seem insufficient, we may approach the question from another side. Müller would say that the stage was ascended by the chorus where the motive for such action was sufficiently strong; but that in the cases he cites the need is so slight that it is easier for the poet to devise another motive for the prevention of the action than to have the action first proposed put into effect. But how slight is the evidence on which Müller bases his theory is shown by the fact that in a number of other passages, although the motive is exceedingly slight, sometimes nothing more than mere curiosity, the chorus are allowed to perform the very action that is forbidden in the passages cited. One of these has already been pointed out (p. 40), Heracles 1032. There are two other instances in the same play. Amphitryon proposes to go where he may see the slaying of Lycus, i.e. close to the door of the palace; the chorus go with him. Cf. 747 ff.:

Χο. ἀλλ' ὦ γεραιέ, καὶ τὰ δωμάτων ἔσω
σκοπῶμεν, εἰ πράσσει τις ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω.

They return to their usual station in 760:

Χο. σιγᾷ μέλαθρα· πρὸς χοροὺς τραπώμεθα.

Afterwards when Heracles is seen awaking, they go again with Amphitryon to his side. 1109–10:

Ἀμ. γέροντες, ἔλθω τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν πέλας;
Χο. κἀγωγε σὺν σοί, μὴ προδοῦς τὰς συμφοράς.

From this point the chorus has no part in the play until the last two verses, and we cannot tell its position. It probably

returned to the orchestra, since it was needed but a short time for the protection of Amphitryon.

Almost identical with Heracles 1032 ff. is Orestes 137 ff. Electra sees the women of the chorus approaching the bed-side of Orestes, and requests that they step lightly, but they are not quiet enough to satisfy her, and are ordered away. When, however, by their subdued voices they have reassured her, she bids them come and tell their errand, 147 ff. :

Χο. ἴδ', ἀτρεμαῖον ὡς ὑπόροφον φέρω
βοάν. Ἦλ. ναὶ οὕτως
κάταγε κάταγε, πρόσσιθ' ἀτρέμας ἀτρέμας ἴθι·
λόγον ἀπόδος ἐφ' ὃ τι χρέος ἐμόλετέ ποτε.

Before Electra speaks the last words, the choreutae have taken their stand where she had directed. That this station was very near her is proven conclusively by 170 ff. The chorus have seen Orestes stir on his bed, and Electra, accusing them of awakening him, send them away again :

οὐκ ἀφ' ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἀπ' οἴκων . . .
πόδα σὸν εἰλίξεις;
Χο. ὑπνώσσει.

They calm her with this assurance, and she permits them to remain. But in 181 she again sends them away for being too noisy, and this time they obey. Cf. 208 ff. :

ὄρα παροῦσα, παρθέν' Ἠλέκτρα, πέλας,
μὴ κατθανών σε σύγγονος λέληθ' ὅδε·
οὐ γὰρ μ' ἀρέσκει τῷ λίαν παρειμένῳ,

showing that they are now too far away to see that Orestes has awakened, yet still near enough to notice the change. They are probably in their usual position when the lyric passage (316 ff.) is given.

Adrastus in Euripides's Suppliants has the dead bodies of the six leaders brought upon the stage. The mothers of the dead form the chorus. They ask to be permitted to embrace the bodies of their sons, and Adrastus grants it. Cf. 815 ff. :

Χο. δόθ', ὡς περιπτυχαῖσι δὴ
χέρας προσαρμόσας' ἐμοῖς
ἐν ἀγκῶσι τέκνα θῶμαι.
Ἄδ. ἔχεις ἔχεις.

We have seen that soon after this they are probably back again in the orchestra, for Theseus forbids their uncovering and touching the bodies.

The Trojan sentinels in the Rhesus go from their posts in the orchestra to Hector's tent, seen in the background, and wake him. 1 ff. :

Χο. βᾶθι πρὸς εὐνὰς
τὰς Ἑκτορέους τις ὑπασπιστῶν.
* * * * *
λεῖπε χαμεύνας φυλλοστρώτους,
δέξαι τε νέων κληδόνα μύθων,
Ἑκτορ· καιρὸς γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι.

It seems that they remain here, i.e. on the "stage," until ordered back to their posts in 523 :

ὑμᾶς δὲ βάντας χρὴ προταινὶ τάξεων
φρουρεῖν ἐγερτὶ κτέ.

That this station, προταινὶ τάξεων, was in the orchestra is shown by the opening scene of the play and by the scene immediately following the passage last cited.

The chorus in the Choephoroi, the Persians, and the Iphigenia among the Taurians assist in pouring libations at the tomb of the dead by handing the bowl to the actor in the last-named play, and in all by chanting as the offering is made. It was this fact in the Choephoroi that convinced Hermann¹ that the tomb was on the margin of the stage, since Electra and the chorus are together during the libation, as they have been from the time they came from the palace. The chorus are sent out as χοᾶν προπομπός (23), and are asked by Electra to sing as she pours, 150 :

¹ De re scen. in Aesch. Orest., p. 9: "Non est dubitandum quin sepulcrum Agamemnonis in margine proscenii sit."

ὑμᾶς δὲ κωκυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν νόμος.

After the libation Electra finds the lock of hair on the tomb. That the chorus do not see the hair at first does not prove that they are not near by, as some have claimed. Electra has ascended the steps of the altar. Upon this, out of the sight of the chorus, the lock is found. In the Persians, Atossa in like manner calls for the chants of the chorus while she pours the libation on the tomb of Darius (619). When the shade of Darius appears, it addresses the choreutae first, 681, not seeing Atossa until 684.

ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἥλικες θ' ἥβης ἐμῆς
Πέρσαι γεραιοὶ κτέ . . .
λεύσσω δ' ἄκοιτιν τὴν ἐμὴν τάφου πέλας
ταρβῶ, χοὰς δὲ πρευμαμένης ἐδεξάμην.
ὑμεῖς δὲ θρηνεῖτ' ἐγγύς ἐστῶτες τάφου κτέ.

His wife is πέλας, the choreutae, ἐγγύς. That he turns from one to the other so readily in his speech proves that they are near together and both on the side of the tomb toward the spectators — for Darius would not turn his back to these.

The chorus of Greek maidens in the Taurian Iphigenia are the attendants of Iphigenia, given her by the king for the temple-service. Cf. 63 ff. :

Ἴφ. σὺν προσπόλοισιν, ἃς ἔδωχ' ἡμῖν ἄναξ
Ἑλληνίδας γυναῖκας. ἀλλ' ἐξ αἰτίας
οὐπω τίνος πάρειςιν;

When these arrive, Iphigenia proceeds to carry out her purpose of making libations to Orestes. In the course of the passage beginning *ἰὼ δμῳαί*, addressed to the chorus immediately after their parodos, she asks them for the vessel and libation, 167 ff. :

ἀλλ' ἔνδος μοι πάγχρυσον
τεῦχος καὶ λοιβὰν Ἀίδα.

It would be forcing this passage excessively to suppose these words to be addressed to any but the chorus, and

furthermore the two similar passages quoted favor this interpretation.¹

We have seen therefore that in the case of the non-performance of the proposed action of entering the palace, (1) in five instances the chorus advance to a position near the palace; (2) in the others a satisfactory motive for the action as we have it is apparent; and further (3) that the same action which is proposed in these passages is often carried into execution, however slight the motive may be, showing that there was no obstacle in the arrangement of the theatre. Müller's arguments based upon these passages consequently cannot stand.

10. Encounters between Actors and Chorus. Striking, and also clearly indicated by the text, are the instances of actual conflict between actors and chorus. The course of action in these passages is generally recognized, and the discussion of them may therefore be brief.

After the chorus in the Suppliants of Aeschylus, 832 ff., have taken refuge at the altars, the Herald arrives and attempts to drag them away by violence (909). The chorus attack Aegisthus with swords in Agamemnon 1650 ff., before the intervention of Clytemnestra. So, too, in Acharnians 280 ff., the choreutae attack Dicaeopolis with stones as he marches across the scene. They are so close upon him that he cannot turn and flee (see p. 73). Euelpides and his companion are charged upon by the chorus in Birds 344 ff., but Epops interferes and persuades the latter to retire (400). In the Knights (see 247, 257, and 471) the Paphlagonian is assaulted. The chorus are still on the "stage" in 490 ff., for they give oil and garlic to the Sausage-seller. Xanthias and Bdelycleon in Wasps 453 ff. find considerable difficulty in beating back the chorus of wasps.

The chorus in the Rhesus leave the scene in the midst of the play. On their re-entrance, representing now the relief

¹ Further evidence that the choreutae are with the actors in these libation scenes is furnished by the lamentation scene, Aj. 910-975, in which for other reasons the chorus must be by the side of the corpse.

guard, they fall upon Diomedes and Odysseus, take them captive, and finally let them go again. Cf. 675 ff.:

Χο. βάλε βάλε βάλε βάλε
θένε θένε . . .
τούσδ' ἔχω, τούσδ' ἔμαρψα.

* * * *

καὶ τί δὴ τὸ σῆμα;

Ὅδ. Φοῖβος. Χο. ἔμαθον· ἴσχε πᾶς δόρυ.

They probably then return to their usual position.

The chorus in Helen, 1627 ff., hold Theoclymenus by the garments to keep him from entering the house and killing his sister. In the Oedipus at Colonus they hold Creon, who with his attendants is carrying off Antigone, until the arrival of Theseus. This is made clear from the text, 724 ff.:

Οεδ. ὦ φίλτατοι γέροντες, ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ
φαίνουτ' ἂν ἤδη τέρμα τῆς σωτηρίας.

Χο. θάρσει, παρέσται.

Cf. 856 ff. also:

Χο. ἐπίσχεσ αὐτοῦ, ξεῖνε. Κρ. μὴ ψαύειν λέγω.

Χο. οὗτοι σ' ἀφήσω, τῶνδ' ἔγ' ἐστερημένος.

From this point the chorus have little part in the play. They probably remain in the orchestra.

There is a scene very similar to this in the early part of the Heracleidae, and although the action is less animated and the words of the text less decisive than in the Oedipus, the general similarity is close enough to warrant the same interpretation. Cf. 270 ff.:

Δη. κλαίων ἄρ' ἄψει τῶνδε κοῦκ ἐς ἀμβολάς.

Κο. μὴ πρὸς θεῶν κήρυκα τολμήσης θενεῖν.

Δη. εἰ μὴ γ' ὁ κήρυξ σωφρονεῖν μαθήσεται.

Χο. ἄπελθε· καὶ σὺ τοῦδε μὴ θίγῃς, ἄναξ.

Κο. στείχω· μιᾶς γὰρ χειρὸς ἀσθενὴς μάχη.

The last verse makes the inference easy that Copeus saw opposing him and ready to attack him not only Demophon,

but also the choreutae. That the latter were in fact on the "stage" is made certain by 307 ff., where Iolaus tells his wards to join right hands with the Athenians in token of gratitude and lasting friendship.¹

δότ', ὦ τέκν', αὐτοῖς χεῖρα δεξιὰν δότε
ὑμεῖς δὲ παισί, καὶ πέλας προσέλθετε.

The last verse, or at least the first half of it, must have been addressed to the chorus.

With these encounters between actors and chorus we should class Lysistrata 381 ff. The chorus of women come out of the citadel against the chorus of men, who are trying to set the citadel afire. The chorus of women therefore for the time being represent an actor. When the men threaten to burn them, they respond by drenching them with water.

Γερ. ἔμπρησον αὐτῆς τὰς κόμας. Γυν. σὸν ἔργον ὦχελῶε.
Γερ. οἴμοι τάλας.

They must have been together on the same level at this point. The old men are driven back from the citadel. The chorus of women soon follow, going into the orchestra, as is shown by 539 ff.:

ἀπαίρετ' ὦ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τῶν καλπίδων, ὅπως ἂν
ἐν τῷ μέρει χήμεῖς τι ταῖς φίλαισι συλλάβωμεν.

Therefore the drenching scene took place upon the "stage," at the gates of the citadel. Both choruses are together in the orchestra from this point until the close of the play (cf. 615 ff. and 1020 ff., and pp. 11 and 19).²

¹ The action here is as clear as O. C. 1632 ff.: δός μοι χειρὸς σῆς πίστιν ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις, ὑμεῖς τε, παῖδες, τῷδε. We have no right to make ὑμεῖς in our passage refer to others than those to whom it naturally refers, the chorus, merely because of a supposed barrier between "stage" and orchestra.

² Droysen's argument (l.c. p. 60) from the obscene passage, 821 ff., that the women were higher than the men proves absolutely nothing. Müller would include Pax 469 ff. also under this class, but by our interpretation of the passage (see p. 76) the connection of actors and chorus does not require that the latter should here pass from the orchestra to the "stage."

Our examination of these 44 plays has shown that 36, or, rejecting those that have furnished the most doubtful evidence, 32, contain evidence of intimate connection in the action between actors and chorus. In 31 of these (all but the Prometheus) there must have been passing between "stage" and orchestra, sometimes by actors, but in a large majority of cases by the chorus or by both together. This passing between "stage" and orchestra was, so far as we can judge from the plays, perfectly free and unrestricted, and it occurs not only when the action may be slow and deliberate, suited to the ascending of steps, as at the close of Persians, but also, and far more frequently, when the action must needs be hasty and even precipitate. Two illustrations will suffice. The Danaids in the Suppliants (Aesch.) hasten to the altars as soon as the Herald comes into view. They see him in 826, begin their flight in 832 (*βαίνε φυγὰ πρὸς ἀλκάν*), and have reached the altars by 835 (*ἄναξ προτάσσου*). And this scene is no burlesque, such as we might expect in Aristophanes, with which the sight of twelve maidens scrambling in terror and confusion up a flight of steps would be in keeping, but it is dignified tragedy, in which this scene was entirely appropriate. In Helen 1624, Theoclymenus first declares his intention of going into the palace. Only four verses later he orders the chorus to get out of his way. Judging from scenes such as these we cannot avoid the conclusion that the height of the "stage" was no barrier to the free passage of the chorus from orchestra to "stage." A stage ten feet high undoubtedly would have been a barrier, and would have prevented such action as we have described, no matter in what way connected with the orchestra. Either the orchestra and the "stage" were on a level, or else the "stage" was very low and easily accessible from the orchestra under all circumstances and in all periods of the classical drama. This, it would seem, would be satisfactorily proven by the eighteen instances of crossing involved in the personal encounters between chorus and actors, in addition to the sixteen required by the parodos from the palace and exodos into it, for these include almost all of

the hasty passages over the "stage" by the chorus. But so strong has been the influence of tradition that even those who have admitted all these instances have labored hard to convince themselves either that, though the floor of the orchestra was ten to twelve feet lower than the stage, yet, to prepare for just such emergencies as these, a platform was built up for the chorus to within a few feet of the stage level, or else that, after all, we cannot judge of Greek dramatic art by our ideas of good taste.

In spite of such expedients, however, the adherents of the traditional view have spared no pains to reduce the number of instances of intimate action between "stage" and orchestra. Oehmichen,¹ the most recent writer, commits himself only so far as to state that "auf der Bühne erschien der Chor zuweilen im Beginn des Stückes; sonst jedenfalls sehr selten, seltener als man annimmt." Haigh² does not cite full instances, but says authoritatively that "in all the forty-four Greek plays which have come down to us hardly fifteen certain examples are to be found." Niejahr³ would grant about twenty-two, though he follows Pollux closely. Albert Müller gives what is supposed to be a complete citation of instances, making the number of crossings of the "stage" by the chorus about thirty-eight. But his list is not complete, even of the kind of passages he takes into account. It is difficult to see on what principle, for example, he says that the chorus in the Choephoroi come out of the palace (*ἰαλτὸς ἐκ δόμων ἔβαν*) without including the Troades also (*ἔξω κομίσασθ' οἴκων*), or why he does not count Agamemnon 1649 among the places where the chorus attack actors.

If my arguments in the preceding discussion have been well grounded, the chorus alone pass over the boundary line between the stage and the orchestra at least 68 times, the chorus and actors together 9 times, and actors alone 39 times, making a total of 77 times for the chorus and 116 times for both actors and chorus, rejecting all instances

¹ Das Bühnenwesen d. Griechen u. Römer, 1890, p. 276.

² The Attic Theatre, 1889, p. 153.

³ De Pollucis loc., 1885. He gives no exact enumeration, nor does Müller.

classed as doubtful. We feel safe in saying that all of these, as well as those marked doubtful and many others¹ that would be suggested in the course of the action for the sake of dramatic effect, would be not only accepted, but regarded as necessary if it were not felt that the supposed height of the stage was an obstacle. When we take into account that many of these (even those granted by Müller) could have been avoided by the poet had there been the slightest difficulty in carrying out the action indicated, and that too without any apparent loss of dramatic force, we cannot believe that there was any barrier in the way. It would be hard to show, for example, what was gained by having the chorus enter the palace during the action in *Helen* 327, or go upon the "stage" in *Heracles* 731 and 1009; and why the chorus in *Iphigenia at Aulis* 598 help *Iphigenia* descend from her chariot, but do not in like manner assist *Andromache* in *Troades* 568.

The following table is a summary of the instances of interaction between "stage" and orchestra which we have endeavored to establish, arranged in groups, showing those granted by Müller, who is most natural and liberal in his interpretation, and giving the results of the preceding portion of this paper.

¹ One of the clearest indications that actors and chorus were at least very near together is *Iph. Taur.* 1069, where *Iphigenia* earnestly begs the choreutae severally to aid her (*σὲ καὶ σὲ ἰκνοῦμαι, κτέ.*). In *Aristophanes* are many passages that have been cited by all scholars from the scholiasts down. In two the chorus hand actors something (*Eq.* 490, oil and garlic; *Eq.* 921, a ladle). But perhaps these passages are wrongly assigned to the chorus. *Meineke* gives the former to *οἰκέρης δ.* In *Ach.* 1224 *Dicaeopolis* pretends to get a wine sack from the priest in the front row of seats, and in *Ran.* 293 *Dionysus* appeals to the priest for protection. In *Pax* 906 *Trygaeus* offers *Theoria* to the prytanes in the theatre and pretends that they receive her. In *Pax* 965 *Trygaeus* has barley thrown into the audience. In *Nub.* 1102 *Dicaeus* says that he "deserts to the side of the rogues," referring to the audience. In all of these cases we cannot know how strictly the action was carried out nor how much was broad jest. Hence no argument can be based on them. On the other hand, their interpretation will be much simplified if we find that there was no stage to hinder. *Harzmann* accepts all the above from *Aristophanes* (as *White* does also) and suggests a great many others that we cannot, however, accept on his theory of the stage.

TABLE OF THE INTER-ACTION BETWEEN ACTORS AND CHORUS.

No.	Occasion.	References.	Passing between "Stage" and Orchestra.			Totals.*
			By Chorus.	Actors.	Together.	
1	From palace to orchestra.	Cho. 22; Eum. 140; Troad. 154; Supp. (2) 8; Eccl. init.; Lys. 319; Ran. 350; Thes. 312; Hel. 515; Lys. 1239; Ach. 280.	7	1	2	10
2	From orchestra to palace.	Cho. fin.; Pers. 1038; Av. 1706; Hel. 327; Lys. 1182; Cyc. 82.	3		3	6
3	Chorus and actors depart together.	(Cho., Pers., Av., Hel., No. 2) Eum. 1004; Sept. 1066; Alc. 422; Supp. (1) 954; Aj. 1413; Phil. 1469; Cyc. 708; Supp. (2) 1232; Ion fin.; Troad. 1325; Ach. 1231; Ran. 1524; Eccl. 1149; Plut. 1208; Vesp. 1516; Lys. 1272; Pax 1339; Prom. 1067.	13	4		17
4	Chorus and actors enter together.	(Cho., Hel., No. 1) Alc. 861; Eccl. init.; Plut. 295; Elec. (2) 167; Supp. (1) init.; Ion init.; Phil. init.; Bacch. 55; Av. init.		7		7
5	Chariot scenes.	I. A. 598; Agam. 905; Elec. (2) 998; Troad. 568; Pers. 607, 909; O. C. 310; Ran. init.		7		7
6	Assembly scenes.	Ach. init.; Eccl. 57 and Thesm. 292 (see also No. 1). Cf. Lys. init.		16		16
7	Search scenes.	Thes. 657; O. C. 111; Eum. 244 and Aj. 865 (see also No. 3); Hec. 1054.	4	4		8
8	Altar scenes.	Supp. (1) 188; 832 (see also No. 3); Sept. 94.	4			4
9	Chorus called to palace—minor instances—libation scenes.	Aj. 328; Agam. 1372; Hipp. 790; Cho. 980; H. F. 1032; H. F. 731, 1109; Orest. 137; Supp. (2) 815; Rhes. init.; Cho. 150 (No. 1); Pers. 619; I. T. 167.	19	4		23
10	Encounters between actors and chorus.	Supp. (1) 909 (No. 8); Agam. 1649; Ach. 280; Av. 344; Eq. 247; Vesp. 453; Rhes. 675; Hel. 1627; O. C. 856; Heracleid. 270; Lys. 381 (No. 1).	18			18
<i>Italics</i> = Doubtful, i.e. without clear proof from text.			68	39	9	116

Heavy-Faced Type = Granted by Müller (p. 124 ff.). He counts also *Prom.* 281 (see p. 59, this art.); *Orest.* 1251 (p. 29); *Pax* 426 (pp. 52 and 76); and *Eq.* 490 (p. 52).

* Deductions are made for instances that would be counted twice.

B. *General Relation of Chorus to Actors.*

The conclusion which we have been compelled to reach in view of the preceding considerations, viz.: that the actors played on practically the same level with the chorus, is supported also by the general relation of the chorus to the actors. Following the history of the drama from the early dithyrambic chorus of fifty members, at which time the chorus alone was the drama, down to the New Comedy, in which there was, as a rule, no chorus whatever, we can trace a steady decline in the importance of the chorus, both as to the actual number of verses assigned to it in each play and as to its participation in the action.¹ At first the entire performance consisted of dancing and song by the chorus. Then one actor was introduced, so that the songs might be interspersed with dialogue between the coryphaeus and the actor. Then another actor was introduced; and now there could be progress in the action, which before this time had necessarily been stationary, and a plot. To this period belongs what seems to be our earliest extant play, the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus. Here are never more than two actors on the scene at the same time, and throughout several long passages only one, and but three *dramatis personae*. The plot is exceedingly simple, and, as we might expect, the chorus is very prominent. To it are given fully three-fifths of the whole play. The chorus is the centre of interest, and the actors are but the means of giving progress to the action. So we might trace a gradual decline in the functions of the chorus through Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes. In some of the plays of the two last poets it might easily be omitted altogether without seriously affecting the symmetry of the composition. This is particularly true of the last of the comedies of Aristophanes, the *Plutus*. In the New Comedy the chorus had disappeared.

But notwithstanding this manifest general tendency of decline, there is never a period throughout which the chorus

¹ See Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, p. 259 ff.

is consistently so unimportant as it is in particular plays which appeared during that period. This is an important fact to note. For example, the *Bacchae* of Euripides, whose chorus reminds one of that of the older poets, was composed in the same period with the *Taurian Iphigenia*, in which the chorus is of so little interest that the poet himself at one time actually forgets its presence. And the *Ecclesiazusae* of Aristophanes, during the early part of which the chorus is as vital to the piece as in the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus, was written between the *Frogs*, whose first chorus is not really a chorus and whose second might easily be dispensed with, and the *Plutus*, of which we have spoken before. The decline of the chorus was so gradual that even toward the end of the classical period there were frequent revivals of its old prominence. Therefore we cannot say, with Verrall,¹ that after a certain date (431 B.C.) a high Vitruvian stage could have been used. We have seen that Aristophanes demands fully as low a stage as Aeschylus.

According to this general intimate relation of the chorus to the actor throughout the classical drama we should expect that the usual position of the chorus during the play, when they were neither mingling with the actors on the one hand, nor engaged with their strictly choral duties in the orchestra on the other, would be the position natural to an interested auditor standing ready to take part in the conversation or, if necessary, in the action; and we find many indications in the plays themselves that this was the case. The *choreutae* are generally the first to see and to announce each newly arrived actor; the incoming actor often apparently sees, and, at any rate, addresses them first, before turning to the actors who are present.²

That this position of the chorus was in that part of the orchestra nearest to the place for the actors is shown by the

¹ Review of Haigh's *Att. Theat.*, *Class. Rev.*, 1890, p. 225.

² Examples are *Pers.* 246; *Elec. (Eur.)* 1442; *Bacch.* 205; *Supp. (Eur.)* 87; and *Orest.* 340. Harzmann, l.c. p. 47, argues from these that the actors in these places entered through the orchestra—an opinion that could hardly be held with the old view of the stage, but which would be in harmony with the new.

general expression¹ οἱ πέλας or ἐγγύς, by which the choreutae are often addressed by actors, and by the more definite expressions, γυναῖκες, αἱ τῶνδ' ἀμφὶ κρηπίδας δόμων, Ion 510; ὑμεῖς θ' ὅσαι παρέστατ' ἐπὶ ταῖσιν θύραις, Eccl. 1114; ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφου, Pers. 686, where Atossa, who is of course on the "stage," is said two verses before to be also τάφου πέλας. Still clearer for the use of the two words πέλας and ἐγγύς are Aj. 1182, where the chorus, who are already on the "stage" (see p. 34), are asked to stand "near by" the body of Ajax (πέλας παρέστατε); O. C. 803, where Oedipus speaks of the choreutae as τούσδε τοὺς πέλας and we find them soon (856, see p. 48) holding Creon back, as they had promised to do in 724; and Supp. (Aesch.) 208, where the Danaids, with the words θέλοιμ' ἂν ἤδη σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔχειν, go to their father's side.

πέλας and ἐγγύς, although, like our "far" and "near," only relative words, seem to mean in these passages either on the "stage" or very near to it,²—nearer than one could be and still see clearly what was going on upon a stage ten or even six feet above him. We find that when the chorus are farther away from this position than usual they are οὐ πέλας, as in Orestes 208. There the chorus have been by the side of Electra, but have at last been sent away by her, for in 208 they can no longer see Orestes's face distinctly, but Electra is still "near" him (see p. 44):

ὄρα παροῦσα, παρθέν' Ἥλέκτρα, πέλας
μὴ καθανών σε σύγγονος λέληθ' ὅδε.

So in O. C. 165 the chorus are compelled to shout loudly to Oedipus because he is so far away (πολλὰ κέλευθος ἐρατύει· κλύεις;). It may be, however, that Oedipus is far back in the grove in the rear of the scene, while the chorus cannot go toward him beyond the limits of the sacred grove which

¹ The following is, I think, a full list of similar expressions. Müller gives Aj. 1182; Ion 510; Med. 1293; Eccl. 1114. To these should be added O. C. 803; O. T. 1047; Hipp. 777; Supp. (Aesch.) 208; and Pers. 686.

² So near the actors that the poet does not hesitate to have the chorus hear some one coming from the house and announce him to those who are on the "stage," as in the Electra of Sophocles 1322.

he is desecrating. Again, in Hipp. 565, the chorus have just finished a long lyric song. They are silenced by Phaedra, who hears the angry words of Hippolytus within the house. From the agony and alarm expressed by the words and gestures of Phaedra they are filled with dread as they ask, 566:

τί δ' ἔστι, Φαίδρα, δεινὸν ἐν δόμοισι σοῖς;

and 572:

ἔνεπε τίς φοβεῖ σε φάμα, γύναι.

And so when Phaedra asks them to stand by the doors and hear for themselves what she could not tell them, they naturally excuse themselves with the words:

σὺ παρὰ κλῆθρα· σοὶ μέλει πομπίμα
φάτις δωμάτων.

ἔνεπε δ' ἔνεπέ μοι, τί ποτ' ἔβα κακόν;

insisting still that she should tell them. How far distant they really are, we cannot say. If they are only five feet distant, they could still speak as they do.¹ But inasmuch as they have just finished an ode they probably are still near the centre of the orchestra.

Clearly if the chorus regularly stood so near the actors as these passages indicate, and so often joined in the action with the actors as we have seen, there was either no stage at all, but both actors and chorus played on the same level, or else, if there was a raised stage, it was very low in order that the chorus might be able to fulfil the functions regularly assigned to it.

C. The Numbers brought upon the "Stage."

According to the rules of Vitruvius the depth of the stage in an ordinary Greek theatre would be from eight to twelve feet.² Haigh³ shows that this extreme narrowness is a direct and necessary result of its height, inasmuch as the rear

¹ Just as in Cyc. 635, ἐσμέν μακρότερον πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. This excuse of the satyrs is not to be taken seriously. See p. 42, note.

² At Epidaurus the depth is about 8 ft.; at Athens, 12 ft. Considerable deduction should be made from this depth for scenery. ³ Att. Th., pp. 140 and 143.

portions of a deeper stage would be partly hidden from many of the spectators. He also defends this narrow stage on the ground that it was quite consistent with the general taste of the Greeks, which preferred such scenes as are found on temple friezes to the more modern group-scenes. But even if we should grant that the Greeks were ignorant of or disliked the superior effects that lie in the skilful grouping of figures (and this no one who studies the Greek drama will feel disposed to grant), it could still be readily shown that many scenes are found in all the dramatic poets, particularly in Aristophanes, in which the numbers brought upon the stage are too great to be accommodated in so narrow a space. We need mention only the trial-scene in the *Eumenides*, which we have already seen to have been enacted on the stage, if there was a stage. Orestes still stands by the statue of Athene which had given him protection. On one side of him sit the twelve judges of the court of Areopagus; on the other, the twelve Furies. Athene presides. There are present also the servants of the temple, who at the close lead the way out, bearing torches. How many these are we cannot know; but since the poet desired to obtain a splendid spectacular effect by the procession they were probably numerous, at least as many, we should say, as the chorus. There were therefore about forty persons on the stage and most of them were probably seated. When we consider that in addition space must have been found for the movable scenery, altars, stage fittings,¹ etc., we must see the complete inadequacy of a narrow Vitruvian stage for such a play. A deep modern stage would be more in keeping with such a scene, in which so good an opportunity is offered for effective grouping. And yet in this scene there is no movement by the actors or chorus, as in many scenes in which as large numbers appear. It would be much more difficult to set the mock assembly scene at the beginning of the *Ecclesiazusae* or the *Acharnians*,²

¹ On the large quantity of scenic apparatus often in use, see Sommerbrodt, *Scaenica*, p. 150.

² White, p. 188, gives several excellent illustrations from Aristophanes of an overcrowded stage.

in which the "stage," crowded with the speaker's stand and with seats for the throng of citizens, must still furnish room for numerous officers and for the coming and going of actors. The argument which decided against the appearance of chariots on such a stage now decides against such a stage itself. If there was a stage at all, it must have been low and broad in order to furnish sufficient space for the scenic apparatus and the large numbers of mute and speaking actors who were often brought upon it.

D. Character of the Scenic Setting in Certain Plays.

In certain plays it is impossible to suppose that any stage whatever was used, in view of the character of the scenes represented. These are the plays whose scenes are laid in some wild, desolate region, where only natural objects would be found, and in which anything approaching the conventional would be incongruous. The most striking play of this kind is the *Prometheus*. "Its scene of action is a rocky, desolate region 'at the end of the world,' in the north of Scythia, near the ocean. The scenery represents a rocky eminence with a gorge,"¹ in which Prometheus was to be bound. The chorus appear in a winged car, and, desiring to hear the story of Prometheus, descend from the car at his request (272). The place where they alight could not well have been the orchestra, at a considerable distance from the Titan. They could have heard his story with greater ease by remaining in their car. But verse 252,

ὀκρίόεσση χθονὶ τῇδε πελῶ,

shows that they were on the same rocky ground near which Prometheus was fettered. They remain near him throughout the play. In the *Io* scene we can draw little distinction as to position between *Io* and the chorus, except that the former would occupy the more prominent place. They are both intensely interested listeners to Prometheus, and both take active part in the conversation. At the end of the play

¹ Wecklein, *Prom.* Introduction, p. 25.

the chorus refuse to move from their position near Prometheus and so perish with him. A raised stage, or any distinction which would set a barrier between Prometheus and the chorus, would utterly ruin the effect of this superb play. If any attempt was made to represent to the eyes of the spectators the scene as it is indicated by the poet, there was no stage, any more than there would be an altar to Dionysus in that wild, uninhabited region. The same arguments hold good for Philoctetes and Cyclops, whose scenes are laid before caverns; for Ajax, Hecabe, Iphigenia at Aulis, and Troades, where the scene is before tents, amidst the surroundings of the camp; for Oedipus at Colonus, whose scene is laid in a grove; for Electra of Euripides, in the country before a farmer's hut; for the Birds, on a perhaps slightly elevated spot before the nest of Epops; and perhaps for Aeschylus's Suppliants and Septem, since no indications are found in them of scenery of any kind. It is a striking fact which strongly tends to confirm what has been said about the absence of a stage as distinct from the orchestra in these plays, that in every one of them without exception there is intimate connection between the actors and the chorus. According to our table, which was made on the hypothesis that there was a dividing line between the place for the actors and the place for the chorus, the chorus in these twelve plays cross this boundary line at least twenty-seven times, to say nothing of the Prometheus, in which they are with the actors throughout. Nothing could be more evident, therefore, than that in these twelve plays at least there was no stage whatever, and that the actors were on the same level with the chorus except when the scenery, imitating the nature of the place represented, may have shown one portion of the region somewhat higher than the rest (e.g. in the Birds).

E. *Street Scenes in Aristophanes.*

In Greek tragedy the scene is laid generally in front of a palace or temple, sometimes before a tent or hut, or before a cave in some uninhabited region. In all of them

the immediate place of action seems to be more or less isolated from its surroundings. In the Eumenides we find no indications of the bustle of city life at Athens, nor in the Phoenissae are we made to feel that we are in the heart of Thebes. But in comedy the case is quite otherwise. In some comedies we are taken into the midst of the most active city life, see the hurrying of people along the street, the gathering together in knots for the discussion of politics and the war with Sparta, and scenes even more realistic than these. The comedies whose scenes are laid in the city are Knights, Wasps, Ecclesiazusae, Lysistrata, Thesmophoriazusae, and a part of the Acharnians. Of these, the scene of the Lysistrata, excepting act first, is laid before the Acropolis, the first act of the Acharnians in the Pnyx, and the first act of the Thesmophoriazusae before a private residence (the rest before the Thesmophorium). We shall have no need especially to consider these portions of the plays. There remain for discussion Wasps, Knights, Ecclesiazusae, and the opening scene of the Lysistrata. In all of these a street of the city is represented, and in them we may therefore look for a realistic presentation of the city life of the Athenians. In the background are private dwellings in front of which runs the city thoroughfare.

The opening scene of the Ecclesiazusae has already been described. One after another enter from various quarters of the city, and gathering together before the house of Praxagora, they hold their meeting. That they afterwards fulfil the functions of a chorus is incidental—no one of the spectators would have thought of the disordered crowd of women as a substitute for the well-trained, orderly chorus to which the theatre was accustomed, and in fact they were not a chorus in any true sense until they joined for their exit in 285. This is shown by the early part of the Lysistrata, which is in every respect similar to this part of the Ecclesiazusae, except that the forms of an ecclesia are not imitated. The women who enter into the lively discussion which resembles the more formal meeting in the Ecclesiazusae fulfil throughout the functions of actors. In the Lysistrata every scholar

admits that all the participants in the action come in by the doors in the scene and by the wings. That this is the case in the *Ecclesiazusae* we have already seen, and the similarity of its opening scene to that of the *Lysistrata* makes it still more certain that the movements of the actors are the same. The reason for this lies beyond the rules of Pollux and the scholiasts. It is that the scene presented to the eyes of the spectators is a street scene, approaching as nearly as possible to a realistic representation. Now in a street scene actors could enter from but three directions,—from the doors of the houses which faced the street, or from the right or left of the street which ran in front of the houses. For any persons connected with the action to enter from the *parodoi* into the orchestra facing the spectators, and then, turning, to converse or commingle with others in front of the house, would be altogether incongruous,—just as if during a similar scene in a modern theatre a troop of actors should come out of the doors connecting the auditorium and the wings, and, passing around to the front of the stage, should then take part in the action. It would be ruinous to the illusion of a street scene. It should be remembered that the so-called *parodoi* were parts of the theatre, and not of the scenery. But if we assume that the Greeks would have tolerated so great an incongruity, we must face at once a still greater difficulty; for the incoming chorus would then find themselves far below the level of the street in which they were to take their stand. Therefore in at least the four plays under discussion all the *dramatis personæ*, both actors and chorus, must have entered either from the houses or from the wings. If this is true, then we at once meet with another difficulty, if we are to believe in a raised stage. We have preserved the illusion, but in doing so we have brought upon a platform from eight to ten feet in depth a number too great to be accommodated. In the first act of the *Ecclesiazusae* are seen the fifteen women of the chorus and several actors; and yet we must believe that after the women have taken their seats for the mock assembly there is still room left for the passing to and fro of actors. Even more are on this "stage" toward

the end of the piece and move about freely upon it; for Blepyrus, at the summons of the maid-servant, moves off the scene accompanied by the chorus and perhaps many others, all dancing as they go (cf. 1149 ff.). So also in the *Wasps* and in the *Knights* the fifteen choreutae make their charge upon the actors on this narrow platform; and in the *Wasps*, while the chorus is still present, the mock trial scene takes place. This is impossible. These actions require as much space as would be furnished by a narrow street in the city. A narrow stage of any considerable height is out of the question.

Reference to a plan of the stage-buildings and orchestra of a Greek theatre will explain the setting of these plays. If instead of supposing the action to take place on the shallow roof of the *proscenium* we place it in front of the *proscenium*, on Dörpfeld's theory, every movement is simple and natural. There is ample room for any number. All who enter come from the doors in the rear or through the side wings. The side wings and the *parodoi* are one and the same thing and well represent the streets of the city, opening upon which are the houses in the rear. The orchestra is merely a widening of the street.¹ When the chorus disappeared from the drama and less space was needed for the presentation, a portion of the orchestra was occupied by the seats reserved for the nobility, and, in order that the place for spectators might be distinct from that for the actors, this reserved portion was reduced in level so that the inner part of the former orchestra presented the appearance of a low and broad platform. This was the Roman stage of Vitruvius. The Greek "stage" of Vitruvius was the *proscenium*, which he wrongly supposed to be the place for actors. The scenes from Aristophanes which we have here examined are forerunners of the new comedy as we know it from its Roman adaptations. These street scenes are the stock scenes of Plautus and Terence. The entrances used in them are the same as in the Roman poets.

¹ See Dörpfeld's Recension of Haigh's book in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1890, 470.

II. DIRECT EVIDENCE ADDUCED IN FAVOR OF AN ELEVATED STAGE.

We have seen that in many plays the character of the scene and, in the whole classical drama, the relation of the chorus to the actors, their numbers and movements during the action declare strongly against a stage of any considerable height. It remains to consider the evidence that has been or may be drawn from the plays in favor of the opposing view. Although in view of the preceding arguments the existence of the Vitruvian stage could hardly be proved, yet possibly some support may be found for Haigh's theory that during the early classical period the theatre had a stage of moderate height, so low as not to hinder to any great extent the movements required in the presentation of the play, yet high enough to distinguish the actors from the chorus, and that this stage was gradually increased in height as the importance of the chorus declined. We have seen that the stage of Aristophanes must have been fully as low as that of Aeschylus. Perhaps the supposed increase in height took place during the period of the Middle Comedy. However this may be, if there was a stage of any height during the classical period, we may reasonably expect to find in the plays produced during that period (1) words of direction accompanying the ascending to or descending from this stage, (2) expressions which can be explained only on the supposition of difference of level, and (3) scenes which could have been presented only on an elevation.

1. Though both chorus and actors in tragedy often, as we have found, have occasion to pass from the portion of the theatre that lies nearest the rear wall of the scene to the open space of the orchestra, and *vice versa*, and though in many other passages also words of command that would require such movements are given but not obeyed, yet there is not one word of direction, either prepositional or adverbial, that indicates a change of level. On the contrary, the prepositions *ἀπό*, *ἐκ*, *εἰς*, *ἐπί*, *πρό*, *πρός*, and *παρά*, alone and in

verbal compounds, and their corresponding adverbs, or even in many cases the simple verb unaccompanied by preposition or adverb, are found when the action is such as we have described, but never *ἀνά* and *κατά*. This is at least a singular fact and difficult to explain except on the supposition that there was no difference between the level of actors and chorus. At other times when an actor ascends or descends, the action is made evident by some word or expression in the context, as in the *Suppliants* (Eur.) 1045 and in the *Phœnissæ* 193. The poet could have had no desire to avoid indicating a difference of level if there was such a difference.

The same general rule holds good for comedy. In at least forty instances of inter-action between actors and chorus in Aristophanes no word is used which might indicate a change of level. But believers in the Vitruvian stage have found six passages whose positive testimony, they claim, outweighs the unanimous negative testimony of tragedy and the general rule in comedy. Three times the verb *ἀναβαίνειν* is found where it has been made to refer to the height of the stage, and twice *καταβαίνειν* and once (see p. 68) a similar expression.¹ First we shall examine the occurrences of *ἀναβαίνειν*.

In *Knights* 148 the Sausage-seller as he enters is hailed by *Οἰκέτης α'* as follows:

δεῦρο δεῦρ' ὦ φίλτατε·
ἀνάβαινε σωτὴρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῶν φανείς.

Two scholia upon this passage give the two explanations which have since prevailed. I. *ἵνα, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς παρόδου ἐπὶ τὸν λογεῖον ἀναβῇ.* II. *διὰ τί ἐκ τῆς παρόδου; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἀναβαίνειν ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον εἰσιέναι. ὃ καὶ πρόσκειται. λέγεται γὰρ καταβαίνειν τὸ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους.*

In *Acharnians* 732 the Megarian who has just arrived addresses his daughters:

¹ These passages have often been cited and discussed. See Professor White's clear and convincing discussion of the first five in *Harvard Studies* II., p. 164 ff. Though my conclusions are practically the same as his in the case of *ἀνα-* and *καταβαίνειν*, they are given in full for the sake of completeness.

ἀλλ' ὦ πονηρὰ κόρια κάθλιώ πατρός,
ἄμβατε ποττὰν μᾶδδαν, αἶ χ' εὖρητέ πα.

Finally in Wasps 1342 Philocleon, who is just entering from one of the wings, calls to the music girl:

ἀνάβαινε δεῦρο χρυσομηλόλονθιον.

It is to be noticed with regard to these three passages that the commands are all addressed to newly arrived actors; that the action of the piece does not require that they should enter in any but the usual way; and that only the occurrence of the word *ἀναβαίνειν* has given rise to the explanation of Scholiast I and his followers, that the actors entered through the orchestra and then ascended the "stage." If, therefore, we can find any suitable meaning of *ἀναβαίνειν* in these passages we shall be justified in rejecting an interpretation which seems artificial, and in following the natural suggestions of the text.

The interpretation of Scholiast II, that *ἀνα-* and *κατα-* *βαίνειν* have the meanings *εἰσιέναι* and *ἀπαλλάττεσθαι*, is at first thought attractive. It admits of an explanation on historical grounds also. As Dörpfeld¹ shows, *ἀναβαίνειν* would be the natural term for the "entering" of an actor in the early days of the drama, when the spectators sat on the level ground and the single actor mounted the table or platform. When in the course of the development of the drama rising tiers of seats were erected and actors and chorus freely mingled on a level surface, these terms would still continue to be used, though now as stereotyped terms. But in the three passages under discussion even this interpretation, which avoids the supposed mounting of the stage, is not the natural one. In each of these passages the actor to whom the word *ἀναβαίνειν* refers has already appeared upon the scene, so that the technical meaning of the word cannot properly be used. If we look once more at the passage from the Knights, we shall see that *ἀνα-* adds nothing whatever to the *δεῦρο* of the preceding line, and that the whole meaning of *ἀναβαίνειν* is again expressed in *δεῦρ' ἐλθέ* of the line fol-

¹ Recension of Haigh's Att. Th., Berl. Phil. Woch. 1890, 468.

lowing. *οἰκέτης ἄ* calls to the Sausage-seller, "Here, here, my dear fellow, come up (or over) here and show yourself a saviour to the city and to us; come here;" *ἀνάβαινε* seems to mean no more than "approach." This meaning satisfies Wasps 1342 also. The music girl has come in after Philocleon through one of the wings, and he, turning to her, tells her to "come up" to him. Simply *δεῦρο βαίνει* might have been used. The same rendering fully satisfies Acharnians 732. This force of the preposition *ἀνά*, conveying the idea of direction to or over, is not uncommon.¹ We may compare Acharnians 245 *ἀνάδος δεῦρο τὴν ἐτνήρυσιν*, "hand over here the soup ladle," and Xenophon's Symposium 2, 8 *παρέστηκώς δέ τις τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι ἀνεδίδου τοὺς τροχοὺς* and the use of *ἀναβαίνειν* and *ἀναχωρεῖν* with the meaning of "pass over," Herodotus 7, 205 *ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινεν ἡ βασιληΐη* (cf. Hdt. 7, 5 *ἀναχωρεῖν*) and *ἀνιέναι* in the Iliad 22, 492:

δευόμενος δέ τ' ἄνεισι πᾶσις ἐς πατρός ἐταίρους.

We may, therefore, dismiss the traditional rendering of these passages from our discussion, without passing judgment against the statement of Scholiast II, that *ἀναβαίνειν* was used *ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους* with the meaning of *εἰσιέναι*.

The two occurrences of *καταβαίνειν* are as follows: In Wasps 1514 Philocleon has challenged tragic poets to a contest in dancing. The sons of Carcinus appear. With the words

ἀτὰρ καταβατέον γ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μοι

he enters into the contest while the chorus draw back to make room. Toward the end of the Ecclesiazusae the chorus alone are on the scene. A servant enters, inquires for the master, and on his entrance invites them all to dinner. The invitation is accepted, and the chorus in 1151 say:

τί δῆτα διατρίβεις ἔχων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄγεις
τασδὶ λαβών; ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ καταβαίνεις, ἐγὼ
ἐπάσομαι μέλος τι μελλοδειπνικόν.

Then follows a dance, during which all go out together.

¹ See Niejahr's arguments on this point, Quaes. Arist. Scaen., p. 28.

It happens that in both these scenes there is dancing at the close of the play. This would certainly have taken place in the orchestra. Moreover, in both cases an actor mingles with the chorus. Hence so long as men believed in a raised stage it was natural that the verb should have been thought to be an indication of its height. But as regards the first instance, scholars from Stephanus down have given the verb the undoubtedly correct meaning of "descendere in certamen," as if we had in the text *καταβατέον εἰς ἀγῶν' ἐπ' αὐτούς*, for which we have the authority of several classical writers. As to the second passage, which is the only passage remaining which can be quoted as evidence of a raised stage because it contains *ἀνά* or *κατά*, we must rest upon the statement of the scholiast and give it the meaning of *ἀπαλλάττεσθαι*, though we can furnish no other example of this use, and must admit that the whole situation is puzzling.

The one other instance under this class that has been quoted to prove a raised stage is *Lysistrata* 286 ff. The chorus of old men are making their entrance and advancing towards the citadel, complaining of the difficulty of the journey:

ἀλλ' αὐτὸ γάρ μοι τῆς ὁδοῦ
λοιπὸν ἐστὶ χωρίον
τὸ πρὸς πόλιν τὸ σιμόν, οἱ σπουδὴν ἔχω.

τὸ σιμόν, the scholiast says, was ὄνομα χωρίου τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· τὸ σιμόν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρόσαντες, and Niejahr,¹ going still further, adds: "scalas, ni fallor, quibus ex orchestra in proscenium escendebatur, per jocum significantes." But the fact that this chorus and the chorus of women passed over this same ground again and again during the course of the play, and without another reference to the difficulty, shows that there was no such "pulpitum" to ascend as Droysen and others believed. We must beware of taking Aristophanes too seriously. No characteristic of his is better recognized than the liberty he took in drawing on the imagination of his audience. If the actors said that it was night,

¹ De Poll. loc., p. vi.

to them it *was* night, though in reality it was midday; if they said they were going up hill, the spectators could be trusted to believe that the way was steep, even if it were on a dead level. This was comparatively but a slight demand upon them. Precisely the same thing is found in tragedy. In *Electra* (Eur.) 489 ff., the old servant coming through one of the wings complains of the steepness of the path:

ὡς πρόσβασιν τῶνδ' ὀρθίαν οἴκων ἔχει
ῥυσφ' γέροντι τῷδε προσβῆναι ποδί.

No one has ever yet, on the strength of these words, advanced the view that the actor entered through the orchestra and uttered these words as he climbed the steps to the stage, and yet it indicates an ascent much more clearly than any of the cases from comedy which we have quoted. The actors in all these cases kept the same level.

2. We now come to our second class, — references by actors to the elevation of the position they occupy. Albert Müller¹ cites *Peace* 564 as showing that the chorus were on a lower level than the speaker. Hermes sees the chorus with their mallets and mattocks, and says:

ὦ Πόσειδον ὡς καλὸν τὸ στίφος αὐτῶν φαίνεται
καὶ πυκνὸν καὶ γοργὸν ὥσπερ μᾶζα καὶ πανδαισία.

It is difficult to see what evidence can be gained from these words one way or the other. Müller's second passage, *Birds* 268 ff., is fully as weak. He claims that the conversation between the two Athenians during the entrance of the chorus of birds indicates that the birds were below them; cf. 263 ff.:

Πισ. ὁρᾷς τιν' ὄρνιν; Εὐ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἡγὼ μὲν οὐ,
καίτοι κέχηνά γ' ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπων,

and 296 ff.:

Εὐ. ὦναξ Ἀπολλὸν τοῦ νέφους· ἰοὺ ἰοὺ,
οὐδ' ἰδεῖν ἐτ' ἔσθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν πετομένων τὴν εἴσοδον.

¹ Bühnenalt., p. 109.

If we can infer anything from the above, it is that the birds were *above* the actors, "like a cloud." Müller cites further from the same play 175 ff. Pisthetaerus is talking to Epops:

Πισ. βλέψον κάτω· Ἐπ. καὶ δὴ βλέπω.

Πισ. βλέπε νῦν ἄνω.

Ἐπ. βλέπω. Πισ. περίαγε τὸν τράχηλον.

* * * *

Πισ. εἶδές τι; Ἐπ. τὰς νεφέλας γε καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν.

If all were on a level, it is claimed, the command to "look down" would be absurd. But this is pushing the words quite too far again. These commands are intended to be ridiculous. It is not impossible, however, since the scenery of the Birds is wild and unconventional, that there was a rising ground to represent the home of the birds and the city in the air, but we cannot make this passage the basis of such a view.

Danaus in Suppliants (Aesch.) 713 tells the chorus of the approach of the ship of their pursuers:

ἱκεταδόκου γὰρ τῆσδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὁρῶ
τὸν πλοῖον.

This ἱκεταδόκος σκοπή was near the altars of the gods and therefore on the "stage." Was Danaus necessarily above the chorus; and if so, was it his position on the "stage" ¹ that made him so? Both these questions, we think, can be answered in the negative. In the first place, again we do not know how much in such a case was left to the imagination. In 180 Danaus, from probably the same position, not only saw the cloud of dust made by the approaching army, which the chorus does not see, but also hears the σύριγγες ἄξονήλατοι, which the chorus does not hear. Is this too made possible by his holding a higher position? Secondly, supposing that it should still seem necessary that Danaus in 713 should be higher than the chorus, why should he not

¹ No argument can be based on τόνδε πάγον in 189, which refer to the station of Danaus, any more than in Prom. 130. πάγος is not necessarily a "hill." Cf. Müller in Phil. Anz. 15, 528, where he takes up other passages here discussed.

have mounted the steps of the altar? ¹ In support of this proposed alternative is Knights 169, where the Sausage-seller, by mounting the small table which he had brought in with him, is said to have beheld all the outlying islands:

ἀλλ' ἐπανάβηθι καπὶ τοῦλεον τοδὶ
καὶ κάτιδε τὰς νήσους ἀπάσας ἐν κύκλῳ.

In either case no argument can be based on this passage.

3. Müller ² gives four passages in which the chorus disappear for a short time from the view of the actors, and endeavors from these to show that the only place where they could have been completely hidden without leaving the scene altogether was under the front wall of the stage twelve feet high. The passages are Choephoroi 872 ff.:

ἀποσταθῶμεν πράγματος τελουμένου,
ὅπως δοκῶμεν τῶνδ' ἀναίτιαι κακῶν
εἶναι.

Heracles 1081 ff.:

φυγᾶ φυγᾶ, γέροντες, ἀποπρὸ δωμάτων
διώκετε φεύγετε μάργον
ἄνδρ' ἐπεγειρόμενον.

Acharnians 240 ff.:

οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν ὃν ζητοῦμεν. ἀλλὰ δεῦρο πᾶς
ἐκποδών· θύσων γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὡς ἔοικ' ἐξέρχεται,

and Ecclesiastusae 496 ff.:

ἀλλ' εἰα δεῦρ' ἐπὶ σκιᾶς
ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸ τειχίον
παραβλέπουσα θατέρῳ
πάλιν μετασκεύαζε σαντὴν αὐθις ἤπερ ἦσθα.

Müller believes that a platform was erected in the orchestra to within a few feet of the stage level. Therefore he is compelled to suppose that the chorus in these scenes descend from this platform to the ground of the orchestra

¹ As Müller suggests, and Niejahr De Poll. loc., pp. ix and xxi.

² Bühnenalt, p. 135 and Phil. Anz., 15, 528.

(except in Ach. and Eccl., where they are just entering) and then pressed close to the wall of the proscenium. Since this raised platform, which he terms the "thymele," has been discarded, and since our preceding arguments have shown that there was no raised stage which would afford the shelter here needed, it rests with us only to explain how these passages were presented in order that the last difficulty in the way of accepting the new theory of the stage may disappear.

To the four citations of Müller should be added Hippolytus from 601 to 608, during which interval the chorus are supposed not to be present,¹ Electra (Eur.) 220-297, if the chorus obey the words of Electra 218 ff.:

φυγή σὺ μὲν κατ' οἶμον, εἰς δόμους δ' ἐγὼ
φῶτας κακούργους ἐξαλύξωμεν ποδί,

and perhaps Hecabe 1055 ff., where it is probable that the chorus would follow the example of Hecabe herself 1054 ff.:

ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν ἄπειμι κάποστήσομαι
θυμῷ ζέοντι Θρηκὶ δυσμαχωτάτῳ.

In none of these passages, I agree with Müller, do the chorus leave the scene entirely. I cannot agree, however, that they went to a position where they could not themselves see the actors, as the theory of Müller requires. Indeed, as the context of the first passage cited by him shows, the chorus in the Choephoroi are seen by the servant who comes out to give the alarm (because they do not answer she complains that she is "shouting to the deaf," *κωφοῖς αὐτῷ*), and as soon as they see Clytemnestra led into the palace and the last danger to them removed, they sing the choral ode from their usual station. In the Heracles also Amphitryon with the chorus sees his son awake. The words of Heracles as he first awakes, 1106 ff.:

¹ It is possible, however, that here again Euripides simply forgets the presence of his chorus. Very similar is the hiding of Orestes and Pylades in the early part of the Choephoroi; they undoubtedly withdrew into the wings.

ὦή, τίς ἐγγὺς ἢ πρόσω φίλων ἐμῶν,
δύσγνωϊαν ὅστις τὴν ἐμὴν λίσσεται;

are to be considered only the words of a man not yet fully awakened from sleep. We must remember, too, that he is lying bound to a pillar, not in the usual station of actors.

But all of the features peculiar to hiding scenes that are found in the other passages are combined in that of the Acharnians. Let us accordingly examine it more at length. The scene is as follows: Dicaeopolis is marching from his house following his slaves and daughter, preparing to celebrate the "rural Dionysia," while his wife is an interested spectator from the roof of the house. The chorus have just been entering from a parodos in eager pursuit. Seeing Dicaeopolis coming out of his house and feeling certain that he is the man they want (239), they withdraw from his sight. Then they await their chance. Dicaeopolis marches a considerable distance, all intent on making the finest possible display with his parade, and happy in the thought of the pleasure still to come, when without a word of warning the chorus spring up and pelt him with stones. 280 ff.:

οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν, οὗτος.
βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε.

Though they do not lay hands on him, they apparently hem him in on all sides, giving no opportunity of escape. Three facts are clear: (1) That the chorus are in a position to watch him closely while they are in hiding from him; (2) that Dicaeopolis marches a long distance (247-280) from his house; (3) that he comes very near the hiding-place of the Acharnians, so that there is no way of escape for him on their sudden attack. The only hiding-place that would fulfil all these conditions is the parodos of the orchestra. To be sure, Dicaeopolis could have seen them after he had gone some distance in the orchestra; but, if the poet so wished, he could also easily avoid seeing them without injury to the illusion. We have only to recall such scenes on the modern stage to realize how simple this explanation is. The *τειχίου* in Eccle-

siazusae 497, which Müller claimed could be nothing but the wall of the proscenium, may just as well be the wall of the parodos. That this conclusion is correct is established by comparison with Clouds 324 ff.:

Στρ. φέρε ποῦ; δείξον. Σω. χωροῦσ' αὐται πάνυ πολλαί.
διὰ τῶν κοίλων καὶ τῶν δασέων, αὐται πλάγμαι. Στρ. τί τὸ
χρῆμα;
ὥς οὐ καθορῶ. Σω. παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον. Στρ. ἤδη νυνὶ
μόλις οὕτως.

The chorus of clouds are just entering, of course through the parodos, where they had been for some time singing in concealment. Lest objection be raised that by this explanation of the scene in the Acharnians Dicaeopolis, an actor, is made to go into the orchestra, it may be well to add that, now that we are sure that there was no stage, all former objections to the movement of actors and chorus out of what has been considered their appropriate positions now disappear. We may now interpret much more freely, and in many instances we see how the action is rendered much more simple and effective, if actors may enter through the parodos and the chorus through the wings, and if both move about the whole available space with perfect freedom.

One entire play still remains, the Birds, and a large portion of the Peace, which we are told would require an elevation. As to the former, it is doubtful if the home of the birds was represented as above the earth. As we have seen, this play is one of those in which the scenery must have been wholly unconventional in character, representing a rough, stony region in the foreground, and in the background the home of Epops, a cavern among the rocks (54) or a hut in the midst of bushes and shrubbery. As Euelpides and his companions toilingly make their way from the parodos through the orchestra to this hut, though they speak much of the difficulty of the way, they say nothing about its steepness. When at last they draw near to the house of Epops, still uncertain of their way, they are directed to his house by the raven, 49 ff.:

Πισ. ἡ κορώνη μοι πάλαι
ἄνω τι φράζει. Εὐ. χῶ κολοῖδς οὕτοσσι
ἄνω κέχηκεν ὥσπερ εἰ δεικνύς τί μοι.

At once they beat the wall with a rock, and Trochilus comes out. This pointing of the birds is the only indication of height in the play. But there is nothing in this to prove that the Athenians ascended. The raven looked up to the nest of the birds; without going further the travellers knocked. If some height seems requisite, however, it could easily have been made by building up the space in front of the rear wall in imitation of natural scenery. This supposition would satisfy those who would interpret strictly the words, κατὼ βλέπω (175).

The following is the situation in the Peace: At the close of the farmyard scene Trygaeus mounts a huge beetle, and after a perilous passage in the air reaches safely the home of Zeus. Learning that the goddess Peace is imprisoned in a deep cave covered with stones, which was probably represented at one side in the rear, he summons farmers from the earth to assist in dragging her out. They at once appear, forming the chorus. Trygaeus, Hermes, and the chorus all (490 ff.) lay hold of a rope, and finally draw Peace forth. The farmers go back to earth as they appeared, but Trygaeus, when ready to descend, cannot find his beetle and is at a loss how to reach the earth, 725 ff.:

Τρ. πῶς δὴτ' ἐγὼ καταβήσομαι; Ἑρ. θάρρει, καλῶς·
τηδὲ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν θεόν.

Following the direction of Hermes he soon after appears below, before his own house.

On the old view of the stage the natural interpretation of this interesting scene, viz.: that Trygaeus actually ascended to an elevation representing the court of Zeus, presented great difficulties. This elevation would be the distegia above the stage. The chorus would be compelled first to mount the stage and then to ascend by some means to this narrow platform, where the lively action described took place. This would be impossible. Hence Schönborn argues that the

chorus and actors were not actually together when they hauled out the goddess, but that a rope passing over a pulley above was thrown to the chorus in the orchestra. This is too fanciful. It would not only ruin the illusion if Trygaeus in heaven were conversing with the choreutae on earth, but every circumstance of the scene demands that all should be together; (1) the chorus are told to be quiet lest they disturb Polemus who is within the palace (309 ff.); (2) the choreutae and Trygaeus are about to carry away the stones from the cave, when Hermes interrupts them (301); finally (3) when Hermes grants permission to proceed, he instructs them (427) to go into¹ the *ἀντρον βαθύ*, in order to take away the stones which are piled on the goddess. Geppert's² view seemed on the whole the most satisfactory. "Der Held des Stückes selbst erscheint auf seinem Käfer in der Luft um in den Himmel zu fliegen. Die Illusion des Steigens aber wurde dadurch hergestellt, dass die Scene um ihn herabgelassen wurde und eine neue Decoration sich zeigte, die den Pallast des Zeus darstellte. . . . Sobald dies geschehn war, stieg Trygäos von seinem Mistkäfer ab und befand sich vor der Wohnung des Zeus." This explanation obviated the difficulty about the chorus. The main objection to it was that it was not a natural explanation. Too severe a strain through too long a time is laid upon the imagination of the spectators, who are compelled to believe that the house of Trygaeus, before which the sty of the beetle had just been seen, and where the servants and family had just watched with anxiety the exciting voyage in the air, represents a moment later the palace of Zeus. Moreover, the alarm of Trygaeus on finding his beetle lost would be almost too ludicrous if he were in reality in front of his own house on earth.

On Dörpfeld's view of the "stage," these difficulties dis-

¹ *εἰσέρχες*. Since the chorus are, in my opinion, on the same level with the actors, Bachmann's conjecture of *εἰ λόντες* is gratuitous (Conj. Arist., p. 133, cited in Berl. Phil. Woch., 1891, 166). The cave was "deep," hence the usual meaning of *εἰσέρχαι* (Droysen, p. 11) satisfies. The stones need not have filled the cave.

² Die altgr. Bühne, p. 167. Niejahr, Quaes. Arist. Scaen., p. 21, adopts this view except as to the change of scenery. White, p. 175, gives practically the same interpretation as Geppert, with the difference that the former knows no stage.

appear and the natural explanation becomes possible. Trygaeus ascends to the roof of the proscenium, on which the whole heaven scene is enacted. The chorus of farmers appear on it to help in the release of Peace. How did they reach this elevation? Obviously not by a ladder or stairway from the orchestra, for if this means were at hand Trygaeus would not have needed a beetle for his ascent nor have been alarmed at its disappearance when about to descend. They must have entered through one of the doors leading from the ends of the proscenium into the stage buildings. By this way they again disappear, and it is probable that Hermes points to this means of exit with the words *τῇδὲ παρ' αὐτὴν θεόν*. There still remains the objection that it would be injurious to the illusion for Trygaeus in heaven to shout to the earth for help, but this objection may be made to any other view. It is no more possible to avoid confusion between heaven and earth in this play than between earth and Hades in the Frogs.¹ The only objection which still remains is that a very large number of persons would be made to appear at the same time on the roof of the proscenium. This may have been large enough for them, but at any rate it is noticeable that during this scene there is no song by the chorus that would require dancing. If we are right in the above explanation, then this is the only instance of any considerable use of the roof of the proscenium² in the extant dramas of the Greeks.

I have endeavored to show that the evidence drawn from the movements of the actors and chorus in the extant plays

¹ On such license in the Old Comedy, see Niejahr, Com. Scaen., p. 13.

² The other occasions are as follows: The watchman in the Agamemnon is first seen upon the roof of the house. In the Phoenissae (cf. 193), Antigone and her attendant ascend to the roof to see the approaching armies. In the Suppliants (Eur.), Euadne climbs a height from which she may leap upon the funeral pyre (cf. 990-1070). In the Lysistrata, Myrrhina looks down from the battlements and parleys with those below (cf. 870-85). In the Wasps, Bdelycleon is seen upon the roof guarding against his father's escape (cf. 136 ff.). The wife of Dicaeopolis views the procession from the roof, in the Acharnians (cf. 262). Lastly, in the Clouds, Strepsiades mounts a ladder to set fire to the roof of the phrontisterion (cf. 1485 ff.).

is decidedly in favor of the supposition that there was no stage in the Greek theatre of classical times; that the want of positive evidence in favor of a raised stage strengthens this supposition; that the slight evidence which may be adduced in favor of an elevated stage can be satisfactorily explained away by what seems to me to be a more natural and reasonable interpretation; and that there is no scene in any of the extant dramas that could not be readily set without any stage whatever. As the archaeological evidence from existing ruins in favor of this view is becoming more and more convincing,¹ we may fairly believe that this vexed question will soon reach a definite settlement.

¹ For accounts of the recent discoveries at Megalopolis and Eretria see Berl. Phil. Woch., 1891, 418, 514, and 673, and Jour. Hell. Stud., 1890, p. 294.

INDEX

OF

SITUATIONS DISCUSSED.

- Acharnians:** Dicaeopolis goes into orchestra, 10, n. 1, and 74; closing scene, 17; assembly scene, 29; action of chorus prevented, 42; similar action executed, 47; Dicaeopolis approaches priest in audience, 52, n. 2; inadequacy of a "stage" for opening scene, 61; ἀναβαλννν v. 733, 65; chorus hide from actors, 71; roof of proscenium used, 77, n. 2.
- Agamemnon:** long silence of Clytemnestra, 23; chariot scene, 28; chorus go to aid Agamemnon, 38; they attack Aegisthus, 47; roof of proscenium used, 77, n. 2.
- Ajax:** closing scene, 15; finding of body of Ajax, 34; chorus called to tent, 37; scenic setting, 60.
- Alcestis:** chorus join actors in funeral procession, 14.
- Andromache:** chorus prevented from entering palace, 41.
- Bacchae:** entrance of chorus, 25; importance of chorus, 55.
- Birds:** closing scene, 10; actors enter through orchestra, 25; chorus attack actors, 47; scenic setting, 60 and 74; inference as to height of stage from vv. 175 ff. and 263 ff., 69.
- Choephoroi:** entrance of chorus, 8; their exit, 10; chorus called to "stage," 39; libation scene, 45; hiding of chorus, 71.
- Clouds:** actors communicate with audience, 52, n. 2; entrance of chorus, 74; roof of proscenium used, 77, n. 2.
- Cyclops:** goats driven over "stage," 12; closing scene, 16; action of chorus prevented, 42; scenic setting, 60.
- Ecclesiazusae:** chorus enter from houses in background, 9 and 30; chorus depart and return with actors, 18 and 20; assembly scene, 29; importance of chorus, 55; numbers in opening scene, 58; street scene, 61; καταβαλννν v. 1151, 67; hiding of chorus, 71.
- Electra (Eur.):** entrance of chorus, 21; chariot scene, 28; scenic setting, 60; inference as to height of "stage" from v. 489, 69; brief withdrawal of chorus, 72.
- Electra (Soph.):** chorus announce to actors those coming from palace, 56.
- Eumenides:** entrance of chorus, 8; closing scene, 13; Orestes tracked by chorus, 33; numbers in trial scene, 58.
- Frogs:** entrance of chorus of Mystae, 9; closing scene, 17; entrance of Xanthias on the ass, 29; unimportance of choruses, 55; necessary confusion between earth and Hades, 77.
- Hecabe:** Polymnestor pursues Hecabe, 35; action of chorus prevented, 41; scenic setting, 60; hiding of chorus, 72.

- Helen**: chorus enter palace, 11 and 52; chorus lay hold of an actor, 48; hasty action of chorus, 50.
- Heracleidae**: chorus on "stage," 48.
- Heracles**: chorus approach palace, 40 and 43; enter with Amphitryon, 43 and 52; brief withdrawal of chorus, 71.
- Hippolytus**: chorus go to Phaedra's aid, 38; distance of chorus from "stage," 57; brief withdrawal of chorus, 72.
- Ion**: closing scene, 16; chorus enter with actors, 23; chorus prevented from entering temple, 42.
- Iphigenia at Aulis**: chariot scene, 27 and 52; scenic setting, 60.
- Iphigenia in Tauris**: libation scene, 45; chorus approached in supplication, 52, n. 2; unimportance of chorus, 55; scenic setting, 60.
- Knights**: chorus attack actors, 47; street scenes, 61; ἀναβαλνεν v. 149, 65.
- Lysistrata**: entrance of chorus, 9; chorus enter citadel, 11; closing scene, 19; resemblance of opening scene to assembly scene, 31, n. 2; fight between the choruses, 49; street scene, 61; inference as to height of "stage" from vv. 289 ff., 68; roof of proscenium used, 77, n. 2.
- Medea**: advance of chorus to palace prevented, 41.
- Oedipus Coloneus**: Ismene on horseback, 29; search by chorus, 33; chorus lay hold of Creon, 48; scenic setting, 60.
- Orestes**: the ἀμαξήρης τριβος v. 1251, 29; chorus by the bed of Orestes, 44 and 56.
- Peace**: closing scene, 19; communication of actors with audience, 52, n. 2; inference as to height of "stage" from vv. 564 ff., 69; setting of heaven scene, 75.
- Persians**: closing scene, 10 and 50; chariot scene, 28; libation scene, 45.
- Philoctetes**: closing scene, 15; entrance of chorus, 24; action of chorus prevented, 42; scenic setting, 60.
- Phoenissae**: clear indication of height, 65; roof of proscenium used, 77, n. 2.
- Plutus**: closing scene, 18; entrance of actors through orchestra, 21; unimportance of chorus, 55.
- Prometheus**: closing scene, 19; scenic setting, 60.
- Rhesus**: chorus approach Hector's tent, 45; chorus seize actors, 47.
- Seven against Thebes**: closing scene, 14; chorus flee to the altars, 37; scenic setting, 60.
- Suppliants (Aesch.)**: closing scene, 15; opening scene, 22; chorus flee to altars, 36; actor assaults chorus, 47; hasty action of chorus, 50; importance of chorus, 55; scenic setting, 60; inference as to height of "stage" from vv. 713 ff., 70.
- Suppliants (Eur.)**: opening scene, 8; closing scene, 16; action of chorus prevented, 42; same action executed, 44; roof of proscenium used, 77, n. 2.
- Thesmophoriazusae**: entrance of chorus, 9; assembly scene, 29; search by chorus, 32.
- Trachiniae**: chorus probably depart with actors, 20, n. 3.
- Troades**: entrance of chorus, 8; closing scene, 16; chariot scene, 28; scenic setting, 60.
- Wasps**: closing scene, 18; chorus attack actors, 47; street scene, 61; ἀναβαλνεν v. 1342, 66; καταβαλνεν v. 1514, 67; roof of proscenium used, 77, n. 2.

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